Miſcellanea.

THE FIRST PART.

CONTAINING

I. *A Survey of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the* Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France *and* Flanders; *with their Relation to* England, *in the Year* 1671.

II. *An Eſſay upon the Original and Nature of Government.*

III. *An Eſſay upon the Advancement of Trade in* Ireland.

IV. *Upon the Conjuncture of Affairs in* Octob. 1673.

V. *Upon the Exceſſes of Grief.*

VI. *An Eſſay upon the Cure of the* GOUT *by* Moxa.

By Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE* Bar.

The Fourth Edition.

LONDON,

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ADVERTISEMENT

OF THE

Stationer to the *Reader.*

THE *Author of theſe* ESSAYS *having heard, that ſince the firſt publiſhing of them, as well as before, ſeveral Books that in the great Licenſe of Printing have come forth without Names, were either by miſtake, or otherwiſe, given out to be his; he has upon this Edition given*

me

me leave to ſet his Name to this, and at the ſame time to give this publick Aſſurance, That ſince the firſt Printing his OBSERVATIONS *upon the* United Provinces, *nothing of his has been publiſhed beſides theſe Papers, nor ſhall be at any time hereafter, without his Name.*

THE

A SURVEY of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the EMPIRE, SWEDEN, DENMARK, SPAIN, HOLLAND, FRANCE, *and* FLANDERS; *with their Relation to* ENGLAND *in the Year* 1671. *and then given to one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my Embaſſie at the* HAGUE.

THE Decay and diſſolution of Civil, as well as Natural Bodies, proceeding uſually from outward blows and Accidents, as well as inward Diſtempers or Infirmities, it ſeems equally neceſſary for any Government to know and reflect upon the Conſtitutions, Forces, and Conjunctures among

their Neighbouring States, as well as the Factions, Humours, and Intereſts of their own Subjects: For all Power is but comparative; nor can any Kingdom take a juſt Meaſure of its Safety by its own Riches or Strength at home, without caſting up at the ſame time what Invaſions may be feared, and what Defences expected from Enemies or Allies abroad.

'Tis certain, That ſo advantageous a Situation as that of His Majeſty's Dominions in theſe Iſlands of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, makes any foreign Conſideration leſs important to us, than to any other Nation; Becauſe the Numbers and Native Courage of our Men, with the Strength of our Shipping, have ſo many Ages paſt (and ſtill, for ought we yet know) made us a Match for the greateſt of our Neighbours at Land; and an Over-match for the ſtrongeſt of them at Sea: whereas whoever hurts us without our own Arms, muſt be able to maſter us in both theſe Elements. Yet in regard there are the Names of ſeveral Conqueſts remaining ſtill upon

on Record (though all of them the meer Effects of our own Diviſions or Invitations); when Trade is grown the Deſign of all Nations in *Europe*, that are poſſeſt of any Maritime Provinces, as being the only unexhauſted Mine, and out of whoſe Treaſures all Greatneſs at Sea naturally ariſes: When in ſtead of a King of *France* ſurrounded and bearded by Dukes of *Britany* and *Burgundy*, as well as our own Poſſeſſions in *Normandy* and *Guienne*; inſtead of a Count of *Flanders* or *Holland*, who ſerved for no more, than like the ſmaller Weights to make the Balance ſometimes a little even in the greater Scales of the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *German* Powers; We now behold in *France* the greateſt Land-forces that perhaps have ever been known under the Command of any Chriſtian Prince; And in the *United Provinces*, the greateſt numbers both of Ships and Mariners that were ever yet heard of under any Sate in the World; and which have hitherto been only awed by the ſtrength of our Oak, the Art of our Ship-wrights, and chiefly by the

invincible hearts of our Seamen. When the proſpect of theſe two Powers brings us to conſider, that any firm conjunction of them, either by Confederacy, or the Submiſſion of *Holland*, will prove the neareſt approach that was ever made to our ruine and ſervitude: It may perhaps import us in this Calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more than we have done of late, to the Storms that are now raiſing abroad, and by the beſt Perſpectives we can find, to diſcover from what Coaſt they break, what courſe they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their danger, and whether the ſhelter expected from us by our Neighbours, will be only a ſtrain of Generoſity and Humanity, or the beſt Proviſion we can make hereafter for our own Safety.

Thoſe Countries in whoſe Actions or intereſts we have at any time concerned our ſelves, have been the *Empire*, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the *Low-Countries*, in the two ſeveral Bodies uſually diſtinguiſhed by the Names of *Flanders* and *Holland*. For with *Poland* we have never gone further than our good Wiſhes towards

their

their Defence againſt the *Turk*; Nor with *Italy*, than the Offices of Ceremony, or Intereſt of Traffick; unleſs ſometimes ſome ſhort Negotiation that ſerved the preſent Turn to ſtop the aſpiring Growth of either the *French* or *Spaniſh* Greatneſs, in thoſe as well as nearer Parts.

THE Foreign Intereſts of the Empire are the Defence of the Eaſtern Parts againſt the *Turk*, and the preſervation of the Weſtern Circles againſt the growth of *France*. The Domeſtick are the limited Conſtitution of the Imperial Power, and the Balance of the ſeveral Free Princes and States of the Empire among themſelves. The two laſt have raiſed no Duſt ſince the Peace of *Munſter*; which ſeems chiefly occaſioned by the *Swede*'s coming in to be a Member of the Empire, upon the Share then yielded to him in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*. Theſe give him an immediate entrance into the Heart of *Germany*, where the Native Poverty of his own Country makes him conſidered as ſtill upon the Wing,

and ready to ſtoop at the firſt Quarry he can meet with upon any Diviſions in the Empire; ſo as there ſeems a general Reſolution not to furniſh him with ſuch Occaſions. Their Defence againſt the *Turk* will be provided and purſued by Common Inclinations and Forces, unleſs thoſe Princes of the Weſtern Circles ſhould at the ſame time be buſied in ſome nearer danger from *France*. But in the Grand Viſier be ſo great a Man as he is reputed in Politicks, as well as Arms, he will never conſent by an Invaſion of *Hungary*, to make way for the advance of the *French* Progreſs into the Empire, which a Conqueſt of the *Low-Countries* would make eaſie and obvious: And ſo great acceſſions (with others that would lie fair and open in the *Spaniſh* Provinces upon the Mediterranean) would make *France* a formidable Power to the *Turk* himſelf, and greater than I ſuppoſe he deſires to ſee any in *Chriſtendom*. So that it ſeems not improbable, that the preſent Peace between the *Emperour* and the *Turk*, may laſt longer than is generally calculated by the Fears or Deſires

of

of thoſe who are moſt concerned in it.

In the preſervation of the Weſtern Circles (eſpecially that of *Burgundy* and the *Rhine*) againſt the Progreſs of the *French* Greatneſs, the Diſpoſitions, if not Intereſts of the ſeveral Members of the Empire, ſeem much more divided. The Emperour himſelf is firm in reſolving it, becauſe he has nothing to fear ſo much as the Power and Ambition of *France*, in regard of their Common Pretenſions to *Spain*, after the young King's Death, and a Jealouſie of the Empire it ſelf after a further courſe of Succeſs: But he will be faint in any execution of ſuch a Counſel, unleſs ſpirited by the unanimous Decrees of a General Dyet; from his own Diſpoſitions, which are thought rather Generous and Juſt, than Ambitious and Enterprizing; from the influence of the *Jeſuits* in that Court, who are obſerved to grow generally *French*, as they were *Spaniſh* in the laſt Age; from the fear of the *Turks*, who are ſtill like a Cloud that hangs over his Head; And from a jealouſie of *Sweden* joining abſolutely with *France*,

which might ſhare a great part of the Empire between them.

The Elector of *Saxony* would fall intirely into the intereſts of the Emperour in this point, as a Prince that is a true *German*, loves the Liberty of the Empire; forſees, that if it ſhould fall into the *French* Hands, all the Princes would grow little Companions to what they are, or return to be the ſeveral Officers of his Court; as they were in the unlimited Greatneſs of ſome Ancient Emperours. Beſides, his diſtance from *France*, though it does not inſtruct him to think wiſer than other Princes, yet it helps him to ſpeak boldlier what he thinks upon theſe Conjunctures.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, and at leaſt two of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, are in their Diſpoſitions and Judgments upon the ſame Intereſts: But will be influenced and awed by *Sweden*, whoſe ill Talent will be ſtill ſuſpected to *Brandenburgh*, upon the Differences in *Pruſſia*; and to *Lunenburgh*, upon the late Diſappointment at *Bremen*.

The

The Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* have the ſame Inclinations; but lying at the mercy of *France*, in ſo near and ſo imperious a Neighbourhood, they will take no Meaſures wherein they may not ſee their own Safety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; Wherein no Prince has greater Reputation of Prudence and Caution, than the Biſhop of *Mentz*.

The Elector *Palatine*, either upon Remainders of the ancient Leagues with *France*, or Quarrels with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, has been thought inclined to the *French*: But as a wiſe Prince, will be found generally in the true intereſts of the Empire as far as the Seat of his Country will give him leave which in a War will be ſo much expoſed.

The Elector of *Bavaria* has been eſteemed wholly in the *French* Intereſts ſince the Treaty of *Munſter*; but by what Ties or Motives, has not fallen under my obſervation, in regard of the diſtance of his Country, and ſmall Commerce out of the Limits of the Empire.

The

The Elector of *Colen* is a Perſon of much natural Goodneſs and Candour, but of Age and Infirmities, and whom Devotion and Chymiſtry have ſhared between them, and in a manner removed from the Affairs of his State; which have been long and entirely devolved upon the Biſhop of *Straſburgh*; a Man buſie, and always in motion or intrigue: But for the reſt, whether upon future Ambition, or preſent Advantages, eſteemed to be perfectly in the *French* Intereſts; ſo as whatever uſe can be made by *France* of that Elector's Name or Country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the devotion of that Crown.

The Duke of *Nieuburgh* is in his Perſon and Meen, rather like an *Italian* than a *German*; and ſhould be ſo in his Diſpoſition, by playing the Game of an *Italian* Prince; in declaring no Partialities, provoking no Enemies, and living more retired than the other Princes of his Country; Having never ſhewed any ambition, but for the Crown of *Poland*, which Deſign helpt to inſpire him with great Compliance towards

towards all his Neighbours, and other Princes, who were able to do him good or ill Offices in that Point. But the failing of it, was thought to have ſomething diſobliged him from *France* (upon whoſe Aſſiſtance he reckoned) and has ſunk him in a Debt, which he will hardly recover.

The Biſhop of *Munſter* is made only conſiderable by his Situation, which lies the fitteſt of all others, to invade *Holland*: And by the Diſpoſitions of this Man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raiſe a Name in the World: An old implacable Hatred to the *Dutch*, upon their Intelligence with his chief Town of *Munſter*: Their Uſurpation (as he pretends) of *Borkloe*, and ſome other ſmall Places in his Country: Their Protection of the Counteſs of *Benthem*; and the Hopes of ſharing *Overyſſel* or *Friezland*, if ever their Spoils come to be divided, make him a certain Friend to what Prince ſoever is Enemy to them, and will furniſh him with Men or Money enough to appear in the Head of an Army againſt them.

The

The general Intereſt that the ſeveral Princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the eſteem of His Majeſty's Power, and the Veneration of His Name; which is ſo great amongſt them, that moſt of them are reſolved in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*, to underſtand perfectly His Language, before they ſpeak their own.

THE Government of *Sweden* is eſteemed ſteady and wiſe, as their People warlike and numerous. The digeſtion of their Counſels is made in a Senate conſiſting of Forty Councellors, who are generally the greateſt Men of the Kingdom, in Office, Eſtates, or Abilities; and who have moſt of them been Commanders in the *German* Wars, or are ſo in the preſent Militia; which makes their Counſels generally Warlike and Ambitious, though ſomething tempered by the Minority of their King. This has turned them, for ſome years ſince their laſt King's death, rather to make advantages by the Name and Reputation of their Alliances, than by the appearance of their Arms. But

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if their King grow a Man, and of Martial Thoughts, as may be preſaged from ſo great a Father, we may ſee great Actions and Revolutions grow again out of this Northern Climate. For the Names of *Goth* and *Vandal*, and their famous Succeſſes both in *Poland* and *Germany* this laſt Age, inſpire them with great Thoughts; and the Bodies and Courages of their common Men, as well as the Prudence and Conduct of their great Officers, ſeem to have framed them for great Undertakings. Beſides, their application of late years to Trade, has much increas'd their Shipping and Seamen (which they found to be their weak-ſide in their laſt Attempts). All theſe may in time make way for their great deſign, which is, the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea by the Conqueſt of *Denmark*. This was about the Year 59, wreſted out of their Hands by the *Dutch* Aſſiſtances, and can hardly eſcape them, if ever that Common-wealth ſhould be broken. And if they arrive once at this Point, there will grow a Power in that rough Climate, which both at Land and Sea may equal moſt others that

are

are now in *Chriſtendom*; by being Maſters of ſuch numbers of ſtrong and valiant Men, as well as of all the Naval Stores that furniſh the World.

They have a nearer proſpect upon the City of *Bremen*; by the addition whereof to the Biſhoprick already in their poſſeſſion, they deſign to lay a great Foundation both of Trade and Strength in the nearer Parts of *Germany*.

Their next Intereſt ſeems to be a long knocking War in the Empire, or the *Low-Countries*; which will make them courted by all, till they think fit to declare: And then will bring them to a ſhare in the Game: And thoſe often go away with the greateſt, who bring in leaſt when the Stake begins. The Neglects of *France* ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, and the late Courtſhip of *Spain*, ſeem to have left them open for the faireſt Offer from either of thoſe Crowns: But rather inclined to *Spain*, which has ſtill the ſureſt Fonds of Treaſure (if they could fall into good Method or Direction) and to whom they are more neceſſary than

than to *France*, which has out-grown almoſt all meaſures with their neighbours. They have a peek to *Holland* ſomething in ſhew, but more at heart; as lying croſs to their three deſigns; the Dominion of the *Baltick*, their Acquiſition of *Bremen*, and a War in the upper or lower *Germany*. And they are ſo wiſe a State as to be found commonly in their Intereſt; which for theſe reaſons, is either an abſolute breaking; or a great weakening of that Common-wealth. Beſides, they eſteemed themſelves at leaſt neglected by them in the late Negotiation of the Tripple Alliance, wherein they expected conſtant Subſidies in the time of Peace, from *Spain* and *Holland*, to engage them in the defence of all thoſe Provinces againſt the threatning power of *France*.

An old friendſhip to our Nation, and Alliance, proceeding from a long conjunction of Intereſts, beſides the neceſſity of keeping well with one of the greateſt Maritime Powers, will (as may be conjectured) perſwade them to follow His Majeſty's meaſures the cloſeſt and furtheſt of any State in

Europe

Europe. This gave them the firſt Deſign of entring into the Tripple Alliance: And into the Commerce with *Spain* in the Year 68, And their Reſolution of keeping pace with His Majeſty in both theſe Points, as well as the Conſequences of them: Which they will do, unleſs the preſent Scene ſhould wholly change, and open new Counſels and Intereſts not yet thought of in the World.

THE Kingdom of *Denmark* ſeems leſs conſiderable than their Neighbour-Crown, from a fainter Spirit which appears of late in their People, and in their Government it ſelf; as well as a great inequality of number in their Forces both at Sea and Land: For the laſt Change of their Government, from Elective to Hereditary; has made it ſeem hitherto of leſs force, and unfitter for Action abroad. As all great Changes brought about by Force or Addreſs in an old Conſtitution of Government (rooted in the Hearts and Cuſtoms of the People) though they may in time prove an encreaſe of ſtrength and Great-

neſs

neſs (when fallen into Method, and grown eaſie by Uſe); Yet for many years they muſt needs weaken it, by the diviſions and diſtractions of mens minds, and diſcontents of their humours; and ſo turn the Counſels upon Deſigns within, deſiſting from any without; And advantages upon Enemies, muſt give way to thoſe upon Subjects. So as the breaking down an old frame of Government, and erecting a new, ſeems like the cutting down an old Oak (becauſe the fruit decays, and the branches grow thin), and planting a young one in the room, 'Tis true the Son or Grandſon (if it proſpers) may enjoy the ſhade and the maſte; but the Planter, beſides the pleaſure of Imagination, has no other benefit to recompenſe the pains of Setting and Digging, the care of Watering and pruning, the fears of every Storm and every Drought: and it is well, if he eſcapes a blow from the fall of the old Tree, or its Boughs, as they are lopt off.

The change in *Denmark* was the ſafer, by having to deal with a ſoft, eaſie People, and with Nobles grown

to have ſmall power or intereſt amongſt them, and of whom many were gained by the Crown. Beſides that nothing ſeemed to concern Property in the change of Succeſſive for Elective. And the example of all Chriſtian Crowns (beſides that of *Poland*) made way for it: and yet it is certain that *Denmark* has continued ever ſince weak and unſpirited, bent only upon ſafety, and enjoying the Revenues of the *Sound* (which are the chief belonging to that Crown). So as their great Intereſt is their defence againſt *Sweden*; And for the reſt, a general Peace, by which Traffique encreaſing they may come in for a ſhare, and ſee their Cuſtoms grow in the *Sound* and *Norway*. They reckon'd chiefly upon their ſupport from *Holland*, till ſeeing them fall into cloſer meaſures with Us and *Sweden*, upon the Tripple Alliance, They have tacked ſome points nearer *France*; and the rather, becauſe of the unkindneſs grown in the laſt *Dutch* War, between us and them. Yet they have it at heart, that *Holland* has ever uſed them inſolently, if not ſcornfully, in the whole courſe of

of their Treaties and Alliances, as well as the Differences between them about the Payments of the *Sound*; and will be ever ready and reſolute in the defence of *Hamborough*, whenever the *Danes* ſhall have Strength and Heart enough to attaque it; which ſeems the chief Ambition they have left them abroad.

THE Crown of *Spain* was in all *Philip* the Second's time lookt upon as both the Terror and Defence of *Chriſtendom*; No Monarchy having ever graſped at ſo great an Empire there, and at the ſame time purſued an open War againſt ſo great a Power as the *Turks*. This Greatneſs was grown up by the Union of the Houſes of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, of that of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, with that of *Naples* and *Sicily*; By the Acceſſion or Conqueſt of *Portugal*; By that of the *Indies* (when their Mines bled freſh, as they did many years after their firſt opening); By the number of brave Troops and Leaders, which were raiſed and made by the various and continual Wars of *Charles*

the Fifth; But chiefly by the uninterrupted Succeſſion of Three great Princes, *Ferdinand*, *Charles* and *Philip*; Which can never fail of raiſing a ſmall Kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary of bringing down a great one to a ſmall. But whoever meaſures the Crown of *Spain* now, by the Scale of that Age, may fanſie a Man of Fourſcore by a Picture drawn of him at Thirty; 'Tis like a great old Tree, which has loſt its Branches and Leaves, *Et trunco non frondibus efficit umbram.* Though no Man knows, whether out of this old Root a Sucker may not ſpring, that with a little ſhelter at firſt, and good Seaſons, may in time prove a mighty Tree: for there ſeems ſtill to remain Strength and Sap in the Root to furniſh a fair growth, though not in proportion to the firſt. Theſe decays have been occaſioned by ſo long a War with *Holland* (ſupported by all the Neighbours, who envied or feared the Greatneſs of *Spain*); By the exhauſting in a great degree of their *Indian* Mines; By that of their Natives to furniſh the *Indian* Conqueſts, and ſecure all their Provinces both in

Italy

Italy and *Flanders*; But moſt of all, by two Succeſſions (which we may at leaſt call, of unactive Princes, and the want of any great Miniſtry to repair either them, or the Minority of this King, in which they ended. Unleſs this Crown out-grow its preſent Weakneſs, by ſome great Spirit riſing up at the Head of the Monarchy, who ſhall digeſt their Counſels, reform the vaſt and impertinent Profuſions of their Treaſures, by ſuppreſſing all unneceſſary Penſions and Expences, and reſtore the Vigour of their Nation by Martial Deſigns and Examples; We may reckon the Intereſt of *Spain* to lie wholly in the Preſervation and Defence of *Flanders* from *France*, of *Sicily* from the *Turks*, and of their *Indies* from Us. That of *Sicily* ſeems more remote, becauſe both *Hungary* and *Poland* is a nearer Game for the *Turk*, and will not ſo generally alarm or unite the Chriſtian Princes, as the Invaſion of *Sicily*, wherein *France* as well as *Italy* is ſo near concerned. The jealouſie of their *Indies* has been much nearer them ſince our poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*; And akes at

heart upon every Fit which the deſperate Sallies of our Privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair Weather in thoſe Seas, by opening to us ſome Advantages of Trade there, and by a Conjunction of Intereſts in *Europe*, which they think the Greatneſs of *France* makes as neceſſary to us, as to them.

Their Quarrel to *France* by a courſe of almoſt continual Wars ever ſince *Charles* the Fifth's time, by the late Pretenſions to *Flanders*, ſet on Foot by *France* ſince the death of their laſt King, and purſued by the late Invaſion (which the *Spaniards* pretend to have been againſt all Faith, as well as Right) ſeems to be grown wholly incurable, though diſſembled by the ſenſe of their own weakneſs, which makes them rather willing to deceive themſelves with a Peace that they know muſt fail them, than break out into a War they fear muſt ruine them, without the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours. And this they hope ſome breach of the Peace at *Aix* on the *French* ſide, or other Accidents, may at one time or other engage for them. And thougt

as they ſtand ſingle, their preſent Intereſt is but bare Defence, and wearing out their King's Minority without further Loſſes; yet a greater Intereſt, and far more at heart, is a War with *France* in Conjunction with the Tripple Alliance, or at leaſt with Us and *Holland*. For though the Peace holds yet while *France* continues ſo great Forces and deſigns on Foot, the Preſervation of *Flanders* will coſt *Spain* 200 *m.* pounds a year, beſides the Revenues of the Country. And what is left them in thoſe Provinces, remains ſo lockt and interwoven with the laſt *French* Conqueſts, that upon the firſt breach of a War, it is all indangered; and indeed cannot be any ways ſecured, but by a ſtrong Diverſion, which may imploy the greateſt part of the *French* Forces in ſome other Places. Theſe Regards and that of being hardly uſed (as they conceive) by Us and *Holland*, in the Peace of *Aix*, which forced them to quit ſo much of their Country to *France*, and of their Money to *Sweden*, have raiſed up a Party in their Council, that would make and ſecure the beſt Peace they

can with *France* by a Ceſſion of *Flanders* to that Crown in exchange for other Provinces towards *Spain*, and of ſome other Pretenſions. But this will not be carried in a Minority of their King; at leaſt without greater fears of a ſudden Invaſion from *France*, and greater Deſpairs of help from Us. Becauſe whenever they quit *Flanders*, they muſt be content to ſhut themſelves up within their Mountains, and ſignifie nothing more in the affairs of *Europe*. Nor could they perhaps long be ſafe either in *Spain* or *Italy*, if they were there to ſuſtain all the Forces of *France*, without the great Diverſion they have always made by *Flanders*; out of which, whenever they are Maſters of the Field, they march in four or five days up into the very Iſle of *France*.

To compaſs theſe two Intereſts either of Defence or a War in Confederacy, they would fain engage *Sweden*; but will endanger this Aim, by the fear of venturing their Money before the Game begins. They reckon themſelves ſure of *Holland* as far as their Defence, but know, they will never

never be brought to begin a War with *France*. And the old Rancours between *Spaniard* and *Dutch*, are not yet enough worn out of the Diſpoſitions of the People or the Governments, to make room for ſuch an abſolute Turn. Their great hope is in *England*, where their Inclination carries them as well as their Intereſt. Beſides, they think our old as well as freſh Quarrels with *France*, and the Jealouſie of their preſent growth, will temper us for their turn at one time or other, ſo that their Meaſures will ever be fair with us; But no more towards preſerving their Peace, becauſe they think our Intereſt as well as our Treaties will be enough to engage us ſo far, without other Motives. Though to heed a War againſt *France*, wherein both *Sweden* and *Holland* would (as they think) follow our Paces: There is no Advantage which the Crown of *Spain* could make us in Trade, nor Money they could ſpare from their own Neceſſities (in the ſhare of the Quarrel) which they would not willingly furniſh us and truſt to the Events of a War how uncertain ſoever.

THE

THE State of *Holland*, in point both of Riches and Strength, is the moſt prodigious growth that has been ſeen in the World; if we reckon it from their Peace with *Spain*; before which time, though their Forces were great both at Land and Sea, yet they were kept down by too violent exerciſe; And that Government could not be ſaid to ſtand upon its own Legs, leaning always on their Neighbours, who were willing to ſupport them againſt *Spain*, and feared nothing from a State ſo narrow in compaſs of Land, and ſo weak in Native Subjects, that the Strength of their Armies has ever been made up of foreign Troops. But ſince that time, what with the benefit of their Situation, and Orders of their Government, the Conduct of their Miniſters (driving on ſteddy and Publick Intereſt), the Art, Induſtry, and Parſimony of their People; All conſpiring to drive almoſt the Trade of the whole World into their Circle, (while their Neighbours were taken up either in Civil or Forreign Wars.) They have grown ſo con-

conſiderable in the World, that for many years they have treated upon an equal Foot with all the great Princes of *Europe*, and concluded no Negotiation without advantage: And in the laſt War with Us and *Munſter*, were able at the ſame time to bring above a hundred Men of War to Sea, and maintain threeſcore and ten thouſand Men at Land. Beſides the Eſtabliſhment or Conqueſts of their Companies in the *Eaſt-Indies*, have in a manner erected another ſubordinate Commonwealth in thoſe Parts; Where upon occaſion they have armed five and forty Men of War, and thirty thouſand Land-Men, by the modeſteſt Computations. Yet the Frame of this State (as of moſt great Machines made for reſt and not for motion) is abſolutely incapable of making any conſiderable Enlargements or Conqueſts upon their Neighbours: Which is evident to all that know their Conſtitutions: But needs no other Argument beſides their want of Native Subjects to manage any ſuch Attempts; What Men they can ſpare, being drawn ſo wholly into their Trade, and their *Eaſt-Indies*, that

that they cannot ſomuch as furniſh a Colony for *Surinam*, proportioned to the Safety and Plantation of that Place: And no Nation ever made and held a Conqueſt by Mercenary Arms. So that the Wounds and fears they can give their Neighbours, conſiſts in point of Trade; In Injuries or Inſolencies at Sea; In falling with great weight into a Balance with other Princes; In protecting their Rebels or Fugitives; And in an arrogant way of treating with other Princes and States; a quality natural to Men bred in popular Governments, and derived of late years from the great Succeſſes of theirs under the preſent Miniſtry.

It may be laid (I believe) for a Maxim, That no wiſe State will ever begin a War, unleſs it be upon deſigns of Conqueſts, or neceſſity of Defence; For all other Wars ſerve only to exhauſt Forces and Treaſure, and end in untoward Peace, patcht up out of weakneſs or wearineſs of the parties: therefore the *Hollanders*, unleſs invaded either at home or in *Flanders* (which they eſteem now the ſame caſe, if it comes from *France*) can

can have no Intereſt to offer at a War; But find their greateſt in continuing their courſe of Traffick uninterrupted, and enjoying the Advantages which in that Point their Induſtry and Addreſs will gain them from all their Neighbours. And for theſe ends they will endeavour to preſerve the Peace now in being, and bandy by Leagues and Negotiations againſt any from whom they ſhall fear a Breach of it.

They will ever ſeek to preſerve themſelves by an Alliance with *England* againſt *France*, and by that of *France* againſt *England*, as they did formerly by both againſt *Spain*. And they will fall into all Conjunctures which may ſerve to balance in ſome meaſure the two leſſer Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as the greater of *France* and *Spain*. But becauſe they believe that good Arms are as neceſſary to keep Peace as to make War; They will always be Great in their Preparations of that kind, eſpecially at Sea; By which they may, in all caſes, advance or ſecure their trade, and upon a War with *France*, make

up

up that way the weakneſs of their Land-forces, which a long Ruſt of Peace, and a ſwarm of Officers preferred by the Mgiſtrates in favour of their Relations, has brought to be very diſproportioned in Force to what they are in Number. They eſteem themſelves ſecure from *Spain* and their *German* Neighbours (upon what has been ſaid of the preſent Condition of thoſe Princes): And from Us, not ſo much upon our late Treaties with them, as upon what they take to be the common Intereſt, which they think a Nation can never run over, and believe is the oppoſing any further Progreſs of the *French* Greatneſs. Their only danger they apprehend, is from *France*, and that not immediately to themſelves, but to *Flanders*; where any Flame would ſoon ſcorch them, and conſume them, if not quenched in time. But in regard of the weakneſs of *Spain*, the ſlow Motions of the *Empire* the different Paces among the Princes of it, and the diſtance of *Sweden*; They eſteem the Peace of *Chriſtendom* to depend wholly upon His Majeſty, as well as the Safety of

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Flanders, in caſe of a War. For they think *France* will be dared, and never take wing, while they ſee ſuch a Naval Power as ours and the *Dutch* hovering about all their Coaſts; And ſo many other Princes ready to fall in, whenever His Majeſty declares, united by the ſame jealouſies or dangers. And if they ſhould open a War, they foreſee the Conſumption which *France* muſt fall into by the ſtop of their Wine, Salts, and other Commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two Nations): And the Head that may be made againſt their Forces in the Field it ſelf, by a Body of *Engliſh* Infantry (ſo much renowned abroad.) So as though their firſt Intereſt be to continue the Peace, while it may be done with any ſafety; yet when that fails, their next is to open a War in favour of *Spain*, and conjunction with us. And the greateſt they have in the world, is to preſerve and increaſe their Alliance with us; Which will make them follow our meaſures abſolutely in all the preſent Conjunctures.

THE

THE Crown of *France*, conſidered in the extent of Country, in the number of People, in the riches of Commodities, in the Revenues of the King, the greatneſs of the Land-Forces now on Foot, and the growth of thoſe at Sea (within theſe two years paſt), the number and bravery of their Officers, the conduct of their Miniſters, and chiefly in the Genius of their preſent King; a Prince of great aſpiring thoughts, unwearied application to whatever is in purſuit, ſevere in the inſtitution and preſervation of Order and Diſcipline; In the main a Manager of his Treaſure, and yet bountiful from his own motions, where-ever he intends the marks of Favour, and diſcerns particular Merit; To this in the flower of his Age, at the Head of all his Armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his attempts, either at home or abroad: I ſay conſidered in all theſe circumſtances, *France* may appear to be deſigned for greater Atchievements and Empires, than have been ſeen in *Chriſtendom* ſince that of *Charlemaign*.

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The preſent Greatneſs of this Crown may be chiefly derived from the Fortune it has had of two great Miniſters (*Richlieu* and *Mazarine*) ſucceeding one another, between two great Kings, *Henry* the Fourth and this preſent Prince; ſo as during the courſe of one unactive Life, and of a long Minority, that Crown gained a great deal of Ground both at home and abroad, inſtead of loſing it; Which is the Common Fate of Kingdoms, upon thoſe Occaſions.

The latter greatneſs of this Crown began in the time of *Lewis* the Eleventh, by the Spoils of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and the Diviſions of the Princes, which gave that King the heart of attempting to bring the Government (as he call'd it) *Hors de Page*; being before controuled by their Princes, and reſtrained by their States; and in point of Revenue, kept within the bounds of the King's Demeſnes, and the Subjects voluntary Contributions.

'Tis not here neceſſary to obſerve, by what difficulties and dangers to the Crown, this Deſign of *Lewis* was purſued

ſued by many ſucceeding King, like a great Stone forced up a Hill, and upon every ſlacking of either ſtrength or care, rolling a great way back, often to the very bottom of the Hill, and ſometimes with the deſtruction of thoſe that forced it on, till the time of Cardinal *Richlieu*. It was in this great Miniſter moſt to be admired, that finding the Regency ſhaken by the Factions of ſo many great ones within, and awed by the terror of the *Spaniſh* greatneſs without; he durſt reſolve to look them both in the face, and begin a War, by the courſe of which for ſo many years (being purſued by *Mazarine* till the year 60), the Crown of *France*, grew to be powerfully armed; The Peaſants were accuſtomed to Payments (which could have ſeemed neceſſary only by a War, and which none but a ſucceſsful one could have helpt to digeſt) and grew heartleſs as they grew poor. The Princes were ſometimes ſatisfied with Commands of the Army, ſometimes mortified and ſuppreſt by the abſoluteneſs or adreſſes of the miniſtry; The moſt boiling Blood of the Nobility and Gentry was let out in ſo

long

long a War, or waſted with Age and Exerciſe: At laſt it ended at the *Pirenees* in a Peace, and a Match ſo advantageous to *France*, as the Reputation of them contributed much to the Authority of the young King, who bred up in the Councils, and ſerved by the tried Inſtruments of the former Miniſtry; But moſt of all advantaged by his own Perſonal Qualities, fit to make him obeyed, grew abſolute Maſter of the Factions of the great Men, as well as the Purſes of his People. In the beginning of his Minority, the two Diſputes with the Pope about the Outrage of the *Corſi*, and with the King of *Spain*, about the Encounter at *London*, between the Conrt *D'ſtrades*, and the Baron *de Batteville*, (Embaſſadors from thoſe Crowns), both carried ſo high, and both ended ſo honourably, and to the very will of *France*, were enough to give a young Prince the humour and appetite of trying yet further what there was could oppoſe him. The Invaſion and eaſie Succeſs in *Flanders*, fed his Glory, and increas'd the Reputation of his Power; Till this Career was interrupted by the Peace at firſt, then the

Alliances between us and *Holland*, and afterwards the Peace at *Aix*, and the Tripple Alliance (contracted purposely to secure it); since which time the Counsels of that Court have turned wholly from Action to Negotiation; of which no man can yet see the Success, nor judge whether it may not be more prosperous to them, than that of their Arms.

If there were any certain heighth where the Flights of Power and Ambition use to end, one might imagine, that the Interest of *France* were but to conserve its present Greatness, so feared by its Neighbours, and so glorious in the World: But besides that the motions and desires of humane minds are endless, it may perhaps be necessary for *France* (from respects within) to have some War or other in pursuit abroad, which may amuse the Nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their Condition at home, hard and uneasie to all but such as are in charge, or in pay from the Court. I do not say miserable (the term usually given it) because no Condition is so, but to him that esteems it so; and if a *Paisan* of

France

France thinks of no more, than his coarſe Bread and his Onions, his Canxas Clothes and Wooden Shooes; labours contentedly on Working-days, and dances or plays merrily on Holy-days: He may for ought I know, live as well as a Boor of *Holland*, who is either weary of his very Eaſe, or whoſe cares of growing ſtill richer and richer, waſte his Life in Toils at Land, or Dangers at Sea; and perhaps fool him ſo far, as to make him enjoy leſs of all kind in his Riches, than t'other in his Poverty.

But to leave ſtrains of Philoſophy, which are ill mingled with Diſcourſes of Intereſt: The Common People of *France* are as little conſiderable in the Government, as the Children; ſo that the Nobles and the Soldiers may in a manner be eſteemed the Nation; Whoſe intereſt and Hopes carry them all to War: And whatever is the general humour and bent of a Nation, ought ever to be much conſidered by a State, which can hardly miſcarry in the purſuit of it. Beſides, the perſonal Diſpoſitions of the King, Active and Aſpiring, and many Circumſtances in the Govern-

meant (fitter for Perſons of that Court, than Strangers to pretend the knowledge of); The continual increaſe of their Forces in time of Peace, and their freſh Invaſion of *Lorrain*, are enough to perſwade moſt Men, that the deſign of this Crown is a War, whenever they can open it with a proſpect of ſucceeding to purpoſe; For their Counſels are too wiſe to venture much upon the hopes of little gains. What the aims of *France* are in this kind, I will not pretend to judge by common fears or the Schemes of men too ingeniouſly politique: nor perhaps can any one tell any more than a Man that leaps into the Water in ſtrength and vigour, and with pleaſure, can ſay how far he will ſwim; which will be, till he is ſtopt by currents or accidents, or grows weary, or has a mind to do ſomething elſe. One may judge, that if *France* will begin a War, it would be naturally upon *Flanders*, unleſs diſcouraged by the ſame Alliances which prevailed with them to end the laſt; ſo as the plain preſent Intereſt of *France*, is one way or other to break the confidence or the force of that Tripple Alliance;

which

which alone ſeems to bound their Proſpect, which way ſoever they look: And if once laid open, they have the World and their fortunes before them; which is enough for a Crown that has ſo much Force, and ſo much Conduct to manage them. Having little hopes of breaking this on the *Dutch* ſide, and knowing the *Swede* will follow our Meaſures in it, we may be ſure of all Addreſs, and all the Courtſhip that can any way be infuſed. And in ſhort, all ſorts of Endeavours and Applications that can be uſed, to break in on ours. Which ſeems to be the preſent Game of that Crown, and that they will begin no other till they ſee an end of this.

Flanders cannot be conſidered diſtinct from *Spain* in the Government, but may in the Inclinations of the People, which muſt ever have a great influence upon it. They are the beſt Subjects in the World, but may have ſome reaſon to be weary of being the Theater of almoſt perpetual Wars; and where thoſe two mighty Crowns have fought ſo many Battles,

and ſeem to have ſtill ſo many more to fight, if the Neighbour-aſſiſtance ſhall in to balance their Powers, now ſo unequally matched. Therefore the Intereſt of the Inhabitants of thoſe *Spaniſh* Provinces ſeems to be, either that the preſent Peace ſhould be kept inviolate by the Strength and Reputation of the preſent Alliances; Or elſe, that a War when it opens ſhould have a ſudden iſſue; Which might be expected, either from the *French* Conqueſt, or a Propoſition of Exchange. They are naturally averſe from the *French* Government, as they are inclined to the *Spaniſh*; but have ſo little kindneſs for the *Hollanders*, or eſteem of their Land-forces, that they hardly either hope or care to be ſaved by their Aſſiſtances. So as the Reputation of His Majeſty's Protection and Alliance, is all that can inſpire them with the hopes of a laſting Peace, or the Courage to defend themſelves by a War.

FRom the Survey of all theſe ſeveral Intereſts, and Forces, and Diſpoſitions that compoſe the preſent State of all our Neighbours, it may be naturally

turally and unqueſtionably concluded, That a continuance of the preſent meaſures, the opening of new ones, or an abſolute Revolution of all, depends wholly upon thoſe His Majeſty ſhall take or purſue in this great Conjuncture, wherein he ſeems to be generally allowed for the ſole Arbiter of the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*.

OUR Intereſt abroad muſt lie in one of theſe Points.

Either to preſerve our preſent Alliances, and thereby the Peace of *Chriſtendom* as it now ſtands.

Or to encourage *France* to an Invaſion of *Holland*, with aſſurance of our Neutrality.

Or elſe to join with *France* upon the Advantages they can offer us, for the Ruine of the *Dutch*.

Upon the firſt is to be conſidered, Whether with a longer Peace, the Power of *France* and *Holland*, with ſo great Revenues, and ſuch Application as is ſeen in their Governments, will not increaſe every Year out of proportion to what ours will do; The Revenues of *France*, ariſing originally from the

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vent of their Native Commodities; and those of *Holland* growing wholly out of Trade, and that out of Peace.

Upon the second, Whether *France* will ever resolve upon the Invasion of *Holland*, or *Holland* upon its own resolute Defence, without our share in the War; which would otherwise leave us to enjoy the Trade of the World, and thereby to grow vastly both in Strength and Treasures, whilst both these Powers were breaking one another. Or whether the jealausie of such a Design in Us, would not induce *France*, and *Holland*, either before a War, or soon after it begins, to close upon some Measures between them to our disadvantage, as We and *Holland* did after the last War, to the disadvantage of *France*.

Upon the last, whether by the Ruine of *Holland*, we can reap as great advantages as *France* (though perhaps greater were necessary to make some equality in our Powers). And to gain a fair prospect of this, it must be considered, whether *Holland* upon its fall would grow an Accession to the *French* or to Us; or live under the Prince of

Orange

Orange as a ſovereign Prince, with our ſupport or protection. Whether *France* would be content with either of theſe laſt; or to ſee us grow abſolute Maſters of the Sea, by the fall or ſubjection of *Holland*, any more than by their Conjunction and Alliance. Whether we could be able to defend the Maritime Provinces, either in our own ſubjection, or in that of the Prince, whilſt *France* remained poſſeſt of all the Outworks of that State (which are their Inland Provinces, their Towns in *Brabant* and upon the *Rhine*); Whether we could on the other ſide hinder the acceſſion of *Holland* to *France*, either as Subjects in a Maritime Province (with great Privileges and Immunities for continuance and encouragement of Trade) or as an inferiour and dependant Ally under their protection. Whether in either of theſe Caſes, our Government would have credit enough in *Holland* to invite their Shipping and Traders to come over and ſettle in *England*, and ſo leave thoſe Provinces deſtitute of both. Whether it be poſſible to preſerve *Flanders* after the loſs of *Holland*, or upon the Conqueſt of

those Countries by *France*; For us to preserve our Peace or good Inteligence with that King; Or upon a War to defend our selves, either by our own Forces, or the Alliances of our Neighbours.

But though these Arguments may deserve the most serious Deliberations of Ministers at home; yet I know they lie out of the compass of my Duty, and are improper for the Representations of a man, the course of whose Employments and Thoughts for so long a time has lain wholly abroad.

AN ESSAY UPON THE ORIGINAL and NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.

Written in the Year 1672.

THE Nature of Man ſeems to be the ſame in all Times and Places, but varied like their Statures, Complexions, and Features, by the force and influence of the ſeveral Climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them by a different mixture of the Humours and Operation of the Air, a different and unequal Courſe

Courſe of Imaginations and Paſſions, and conſequently of Diſcourſes and Actions.

Theſe Differences incline Men to ſeveral Cuſtoms, Educations, Opinions, and Laws; which Form and Govern the ſeveral Nations of the World, where they are not interrupted by the violence of ſome Force from without, or ſome Faction within, which like a great Blow, or a great Diſeaſe, may either change or deſtroy the very Frame of a Body; though if it lives to recover Strength and Vigour, it commonly returns in time to its natural Conſtitution, or ſomething near it.

(I ſpeak not of thoſe Changes and Revolutions of State, of Inſtitutions of Government that are made by the more immediate and evident Operaon of Divine Will and Providence, being the Themes of Divines, and not of Common Men; and the Subjects of our Faith, not of Reaſon).

This may be the cauſe that the ſame Countries have generally in all times been uſed to Forms of Government much of a ſort; The ſame Nature ever

continuing under the ſame Climate, and making returns into its old Channel, though ſometimes led out of it by perſwaſions, and ſometimes beaten out by force.

Thus the more Northern, and more Southern Nations (Extremes as they ſay ſtill agreeing) have ever lived under ſingle and Arbitrary Dominions; as all the Regions of *Tartary* and *Muſcovy* on the one ſide, and of *Africk* and *India* on the other. While thoſe under the more temperate Climates, eſpecially in *Europe*, have ever been uſed to more moderate Governments, running anciently much into Commonwealths, and of later ages into Principalities bounded by laws, which differ leſs in Nature than in Name.

For though the old diſtinctions run otherwiſe, there ſeem to be but two general kinds of Government in the world; the one exerciſed according to the Arbitrary commands and Will of ſome ſingle Perſon; and the other according to certain Orders or Laws introduced by agreement or cuſtom, and not to be changed without the conſent of many.

But

But under each of these may fall many more particular kinds, than can be reduced to the common heads of Government received in the Schools. For those of the first sort, differ according to the Dispositions and Humours of him that Rules, and of them that Obey: as Fevers do according to the temper of the persons, and accidents of the seasons. And those of the other sort differ according to the quality or number of the persons upon whom is devolved the authority of making, or power of executing Laws.

Nor will any Man, that understands the State of *Poland*, and the *United Provinces*, be well able to range them under any particular Names of Government that have been yet invented.

The great Scenes of action, and Subjects of Ancient Story, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Scicily*, were all divided into small Common-wealths, till swallowed up and made Provinces by that mighty one of *Rome*, together with *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Germany*. These were before composed of in any small Governments, among which the Cities were gene-

generally under Common-wealths, and the countries under ſeveral Princes: who were Generals in their wars, but in peace lived without Armies or Guards, or any Inſtruments of arbitrary Power: And were only chief of their Councils, and of thoſe Aſſemblies by whoſe conſultations, and authority, the great affairs and actions among them were reſolved and enterprized.

Through all theſe Regions ſome of the ſmaller States, but chiefly thoſe of the Cities, fell often under Tyrannies: Which ſpring naturally out of Popular Governments. While the meaner ſort of the people oppreſt, or ill protected by the richer, and greater, give themſelves up to the conduct of ſome one Man in chief credit among them; and ſubmit all to his will and diſcretion: either running eaſily from one extream to another, or contented to ſee thoſe they hated and feared before, now in equal condition with themſelves: Or becauſe a multitude is incapable of framing Orders, though capable of conſerving them: Or that every Man comes to find by experience, that confuſion and popular tumults have worſe

effect upon common ſafety than the rankeſt Tyranny. For it is eaſier to pleaſe the humour, and either appeaſe or reſiſt the fury of one ſingle man than of a multitude. And taking each of them in their extreams, the rage of a Tyrant may be like that of fire, which conſumes what it reaches but by degrees, and devouring one Houſe after another; whereas the rage of People is like that of the Sea, which once breaking bounds, overflows a Country with that ſuddenneſs and violence, as leaves no hopes either of flying or reſiſting, till with the change of Tides or Winds it returns of it ſelf.

The force and variety of accidents is ſo great, that it will not perhaps bear reaſoning, or enquiry how it comes about, that ſingle Arbitrary dominion ſeems to have been natural to *Aſia* and *Africk*, and the other ſort to *Europe*. For though *Carthage* was indeed a Commonwealth in *Africk*, and *Macedon* a Kingdom in *Europe*; yet the firſt was not Native of that Soyl (being a Colony of the *Tyrians*, as there were ſome other ſmall ones of the *Grecians* upon the ſame Coaſts) and

and the King of *Macedon* governed by Laws, and the Conſent as well as Councils of the Nobles. Not like the Kings of *Perſia*, by Humour and Will; as appears by the event of their Quarrel, while ſo few Subjects conquered ſo many Slaves.

Yet one Reaſon may be, That *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, (which were the Regions of Commom-wealths) were planted thick with rich and populous Cities (occaſioned by their being ſo far encompaſſed with the Sea). And the Vein of all rich Cities ever enclines to that kind of Government. Whether it be that where many grow rich, many grow to Power, and are harder to be ſubjected: Or where Men grow to great Poſſeſſions, they grow more intent upon Safety, and therefore deſire to be governed by Laws and Magiſtrates of their own choice, fearing all Armed and Arbitrary Power: Or that the ſmall compaſs of Cities makes the eaſe and convenience of Aſſemblies and Councils: Or that Converſation ſharpens Mens Wits, and makes too many Reaſoners in matters of Government.

The contrary of all this happens in Countries thin inhabited, and especially in vast *Campania*'s, such as are extended through *Asia* and *Africk*, where there are few Cities besides what grow by the Residence of the Kings or their Governours. The People are poorer, and having little to lose, have little to care for, and are less exposed to the designs of Power or Violence. The assembling of Persons deputed from People at great distances one from another, is trouble to them that are sent, and charge to them that send. And where Ambition and Avarice have made no entrance, the desire of leisure is much more natural, than of business and care: besides, Men conversing all their lives with the Woods and the Fields, and the Herds more than with one another, come to know as little as they desire; use their Senses a great deal more than their Reasons; examine not the nature or the tenure of Power and Authority; find only they are fit to obey, because they are not fit to govern. And so come to submit to the will of him they found in Power, as they do to the will of Heaven, and consider

ſider all changes of Conditions that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill Seaſons that happen in the Weather and the Air.

It may be ſaid further, That in the more intemperate Climates, the Spirits either exhal'd by Heat, or compreſs'd by Cold, are rendred faint and ſluggiſh; and by that reaſon the Men grow tamer, and fitter for ſervitude. That in more temperate Regions the Spirits are ſtronger, and more active, whereby Men become bolder in the defence or recovery of their Liberties.

But all Government is a reſtraint upon Liberty; And under all, the Dominion is equally abſolute, where it is in the laſt reſort.

So that when Men ſeem to contend for Liberty, it is indeed but for the change of thoſe that rule, or for the Forms of Government they have formerly been uſed to; and (being grown weary of the preſent) now begin to regret; though when they enjoyed them it was not without ſome preſſure and complaint. Nor can it be in the other caſe, that when vaſt numbers of Men ſubmit their Lives and Fortunes

abſolutely to the Will of one, it ſhould be want of Heart, but muſt be force of Cuſtom, or Opinion, the true ground and foundation of all Government, and that which ſubjects Power to Authority. *For Power ariſing from Strength, is always in thoſe that are governed, who are many: But Authority ariſing from Opinion, is in thoſe that govern, who are few.*

This diſtinction is plain in the Forms of the old *Roman* State, where Laws were made, and Reſolutions taken, *Authoritate Senatus*, and *Juſſu populi*. The Senate were Authors of all Counſels in the State; and what was by them conſulted and agreed, was propoſed to the People: By whom it was enacted, or commanded, becauſe in them was the Power to make it be obeyed. But the great opinion which the People had at firſt of the Perſons of the Senators, and afterwards of their Families (which were called *Patricians*) gained eaſie aſſent to what was thus propoſed; the Authority of the Perſons adding great weight to the Reaſon of the things. And this went ſo far, that though the choice of all Magiſtrates

giſtrates was wholly in the People, yet for a long courſe of years they choſe none but *Patricians* into the great Offices of State, either Civil or Military. But when the People began to loſe the general opinion they had of the *Patricians*, or at leaſt ſo far as to believe ſome among themſelves were as able, and fit as theſe, to adviſe the State, and lead their Armies: They then pretended to ſhare with the Senate in the Magiſtracy, and bring in *Plebeians* to the Offices of chiefeſt Power and Dignity. And hereupon began thoſe Seditions which ſo long diſtempered, and at length ruined that State.

AUthority ariſes from the opinion of Wiſdom, goodneſs, and Valour in the Perſons who poſſeſs it.

Wiſdom, as that which makes Men judge what are the beſt Ends, and what the beſt Means to attain them; and gives a Man advantage among the weak and the ignorant; as ſight among the blind, which is that of Counſel and Direction: This gives Authority to Age among the younger, till theſe begin at certain years to change their

opinion of the old, and of themſelves. This gives it more abſolute to a Pilot at Sea, whom all the Paſſengers ſuffer to ſteer them as he pleaſes.

Goodneſs, is that which makes Men preferr their Duty and their Promiſe, before their Paſſions, or their Intereſt; and is properly the object of Truſt: In our Language, it goes rather by the name of Honeſty; though what we call an Honeſt Man, the *Romans* called a Good Man: and Honeſty in their Language, as well as in *French*, rather ſignifies a Compoſition of thoſe Qualities which generally acquire Honour and eſteem to thoſe who poſſeſs them.

Valour, as it gives Awe, and promiſes Protection to thoſe who want either Heart or ſtrength to defend themſelves: This makes the Authority of Men among Women; and that of a Maſter-Buck in a numerous Herd, though perhaps not ſtrong enough for any two of them; but the impreſſion of ſingle Fear holds when they are all together, by the ignorance of Uniting.

Elo-

Eloquence, as it paſſes for a mark of Wiſdom; Beauty of Goodneſs, and Nobility of Valour (which was its Original) have likewiſe ever ſome effect upon the opinion of the People; but a very great one when they are really joyned with the Qualities they promiſe or reſemble.

There is yet another Source from which uſually ſprings greater Authority than from all the reſt; which is the opinion of Divine Favour, or deſignation of the Perſons or of the Races that Govern. This made the Kings among the Heathens ever derive themſelves, or their Anceſtors, from ſome God; paſſing thereby for Heroes, that is, Perſons iſſued from the mixture of Divine and Human Race, and of a middle nature between Gods and Men: others joined the Mitre to the Crown, and thereby the Reverence of Divine, to the Reſpect of Civil Power.

This made the *Caliphs* of *Perſia* and *Egypt*, and the great Emperours of *Arabia*, derive themſelves by ſeveral Branches from their great Prophet *Mahomet*: The *Yncas* in *Peru* from the Sun: And the *Ottoman* Race to be adored

red among the *Turks*, as designed by Heaven for perpetual Empire. And the sacring of the Kings of *France* (as *Loysel* says) is the sign of their Sovereign Priesthood, as well as Kingdom; and in the Right thereof they are capable of holding all vacant Benefices of the Church.

Piety, as it is thought a way to the Favour of God; and Fortune, as it looks like the Effect either of that, or at least of Prudence and Courage, beget Authority. As likewise splendor of living in great Palaces, with numerous Attendance, much Observance, and rich Habits differing from common Men: Both as it seems to be the Reward of those Vertues already named, or the effect of Fortune; or as it is a Mark of being obeyed by many.

From all these Authority arises, but is by nothing so much strengthened and confirmed as by Custom. For no Man easily distrusts the Persons, or disputes the things which he and all Men that he knows of, have been always bred up to observe and believe; or if he does, he will hardly hope or venture to introduce Opinions wherein he knows none

none or few of his mind, and thinks all others will defend thoſe already received: ſo as no man nor party can offer at the change of a government eſtabliſht, without firſt gaining new Authority by the ſteps already traced out; and in ſome degree debaſing the old, by appearance or impreſſions of contrary qualities in thoſe who before enjoyed it. This induces a general change of opinion concerning the perſon or party like to be obeyed or followed by the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of the people: according to which, the power or weakneſs of each is to be meaſured. So as in effect all Government may be eſteemed to grow ſtrong or weak as the general opinion of theſe qualities in thoſe that Govern, is ſeen to leſſen or increaſe.

And power muſt be allowed to follow Authority in all Civil Bodies; as in natural, the Motions of the Body follow thoſe of the Mind; great numbers ever acting and purſuing what the few (whom they truſt) begin or adviſe.

From

FRom this Principle, and from the diſcovery of ſome natural Authority, may perhaps be deduced a truer original of all Governments among men, than from any Contracts: though theſe be given us by the great Writers concerning Politicks and Laws. Some of them lay for their foundation, That Men are ſociable Creatures, and naturally diſpoſed to live in Numbers and Troops together. Others, that they are naturally creatures of prey, and in a ſtate of War one upon another; ſo as to avoid confuſion in the firſt caſe, and violence in the other, they found out the neceſſity of agreeing upon ſome Orders and Rules, by which every man gives up his common Right for ſome particular poſſeſſion, and his power to hurt and ſpoil others for the privilege of not being hurt or ſpoiled himſelf. And the agreement upon ſuch Orders, by mutual contract, with the conſent to execute them, by common ſtrength and endeavours, They make to be the riſe of all civil Governments.

I know not whether they conſider what it is that makes ſome creatures ſociable,

ciable, and others live and range more alone, or in ſmaller Companies; but I ſuppoſe thoſe Creatures whoſe natural and neceſſary Food is eaſie and plentiful, as Graſs, or Plants, or Fruits (the common Product of the Earth) are the ſociable Creatures, becauſe whereever they go, they uſually find what they want, and enough for them all, without induſtry or contention. And thoſe live more alone, whoſe Food (and therefore prey) is upon other ſenſitive Creatures, and ſo not attained without purſuit and violence, and ſeldom in ſuch quantities at once, as to ſatisfy the hunger of great numbers together. Yet this does not hold ſo far, but that Ravens are ſeen in flocks where a Carrion lies, and Wolves in herds to run down a Deer. Nay, they feed quietly together while there is enough for them all: Quarrel only when it begins to fail; and when 'tis ended, they ſcatter to ſeek out new encounters. Beſides, thoſe called ſociable, quarrel in hunger and in luſt, as well as the others; and the Bull and the Ram appear then as much in Fury and War, as the Lyon and the Bear. So that if Mankind muſt

be

be ranged to one of theſe ſorts, I know not well to which it will be: and conſidering the great differences of cuſtoms and diſpoſitions in ſeveral men, and even in the ſame Men at ſeveral times, I very much doubt they muſt be divided into ſeveral forms. Nor do I know, if men are like ſheep, why they need any Government: or if they are like Wolves, how they can ſuffer it. Nor have I read where the Orders of any State have been agreed on by mutual Contract among great numbers of men, meeting together in that natural ſtate of War, where every man takes himſelf to have equal right to every thing. But often where ſuch Orders have been invented by the Wiſdom, and received by the Authority of ſome one Man, under the name of a Lawgiver; And where this has not happened, the original of Government lies as undiſcovered in ſtory, as that of Time. All Nations appearing upon the firſt Records that are left us, under the Authority of Kings, or Princes, or ſome other Magiſtrates.

Beſides, this principle of contract as the original of Government, ſeems calculated

culated for the Account given by ſome of the old Poets, of the Original of Man; whom they raiſe out of the Ground by great numbers at a time, in perfect Stature and Strength. Whereas if we deduce the ſeveral Races of Mankind in the ſeveral Parts of the World from Generation, we muſt imagine the firſt numbers of them who in any place agree upon any Civil Conſtitutions, to aſſemble not as ſo many ſingle Heads, but as ſo many Heads of Families, whom they repreſent, in the framing any Compact or common Accord; and conſequently, as Perſons who have already an Authority over ſuch numbers as their Families are compoſed of.

For if we conſider a Man multiplying his Kind by the birth of many Children, and his Cares by providing even neceſſary Food for them, till they are able to do it for themſelves (which happens much later to the Generations of Men, and makes a much longer dependence of Children upon Parents, than we can obſerve among any other Creatures): If we conſider not only the Cares but the Induſtry he is forced to,

for

for the neceſſary ſuſtenance of his helpleſs Brood, either in gathering the natural Fruits or raiſing thoſe which are purchaſed with labour and toil; if he be forced for ſupply of this Stock to catch the tamer Creatures, and hunt the wilder, ſometimes to exerciſe his Courage in defending his little Family, and fighting with the ſtrong and Savage Beaſts (that would prey upon him, as he does upon the weak and the mild); if we ſuppoſe him diſpoſing with diſcretion and order, whatever he gets, among his Children, according to each of their hunger or need, ſometimes laying up for to morrow, what was more than enough for to day; at other times pinching himſelf, rather than ſuffering any of them ſhould want. And as each of them grows up, and able to ſhare in the common Support teaching him both by Leſſon and Example, what he is now to do as the Son of this Family, and what hereafter as the Father of another; inſtructing them all, what Qualities are good, and what are ill, for their Health and Life, or common Society (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally

nerally esteemed Vertue or Vice among Men) cherishing and encouraging dispositions to the good; disfavouring and punishing those to the ill. And lastly, Among the various accidents of Life, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, when the Earth affords him no relief; and having recourse to a higher and a greater Nature, whenever he finds the frailty of his own: We must needs conclude, that the Children of this Man cannot fail of being bred up with a great opinion of his Wisdom, his Goodness, his Valour, and his Piety. And if they see constant plenty in the Family, they believe well of his Fortune too.

And from all this must naturally arise a great paternal Authority, which disposes his Children (at least till the age when they grow Fathers themselves) to believe what he teaches, to follow what he advises, and obey what he commands.

Thus the Father, by a natural Right as well as Authority, becomes a Governour in this little State: and if his Life be long, and his generations many (as well as those of his Children) he grows

the Governour or King of a Nation, and is indeed a *Pater patriæ*, as the beſt Kings are, and as all ſhould be; and as thoſe which are not, are yet content to be called. Thus the peculiar compellation of the King in *France*, is by the name of *Sire*, which in their ancient Language is nothing elſe but Father, and denotes the Prince to be the Father of the Nation. For a Nation properly ſignifies a great number of Families, derived from the ſame Blood, born in the ſame Country, and living under the ſame Government and Civil Conſtitutions: As *Patria* does the Land of our Father; and ſo the *Dutch* by expreſſions of dearneſs, inſtead of our Country, ſay our *Father-land*. With ſuch Nations we find in Scripture all the Lands of *Judea*, and the adjacent Territories, were planted of old. With ſuch the many ſeveral Provinces of *Greece* and *Italy* when they began firſt to appear upon the Records of Ancient Story or Tradition. And with ſuch was the main Land of *Gaul* inhabited in the time of *Cæſar*; and *Germany* in that of *Tacitus*. Such were the many Branches of the old *Britiſh* Nation; the

the *Scepts* among the *Iriſh*. And ſuch the infinite variety and numbers of Nations in *Africk* and *America* upon the firſt diſcoveries, diſtinguiſht by their ſeveral Names, and living under their ſeveral Kings or Princes, till they came to be ſwallowed up by greater Empires.

Theſe ſeem to have been the natural and original Governments of the World, ſpringing from a tacite deference of many to the Authority of one ſingle Perſon. Under Him (if the Father of the Family or Nation) the elder of his Children comes to acquire a degree of Authority among the younger by the ſame means the Father did among them; and to ſhare with him in the conſultation and conduct of their common Affairs. And this together with an Opinion of Wiſdom from Experience, may have brought in the Authority of the Elders, ſo often mentioned among the *Jews*; and in general of aged Men, not only in *Sparta* and *Rome*, but all other places in ſome degree, both civil and barbarous. For the names of Lord, *Signior*, *Signeur*, *Sennor*, in the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spaniſh*

niſh Languages, ſeem to have at firſt imported only Elder Men, who thereby were grown into Authority among the ſeveral Governments and Nations, which ſeated themſelves in thoſe Countries upon the fall of the *Roman* Empire.

This perhaps brought in vogue that which is called the Authority of the Ancients in matters of opinion, though by a miſtaken ſence: For I ſuppoſe Authority may be reaſonably allowed to the Opinion of Ancient Men in the preſent Age; but I know not why it ſhould be ſo to thoſe of Men in general that lived in ages long ſince paſt; nor why one age of the World ſhould be wiſer than another; or if it be, why it ſhould not be rather the latter than the former; as having the ſame advantage of the general experience of the World, that an old Man has of the more particular experiments of Life.

THus a Family ſeems to become a little Kingdom, and a Kingdom to be but a great Family.

Nor is it unlikely that this Paternal Juriſ-

Jurisdiction in its successions, and with the help of accidents, may have branched out into the several Heads of Government commonly received in the Schools. For a Family Governed with order, will fall naturally to the several Trades of Husbandry, which are Tillage, Gardening and Pasturage (the product whereof was the original Riches.) For the managing of these and their increase, and the assistance of one Man, who perhaps is to feed twenty, it may be a hundred Children (since it is not easily told how far Generations may extend, with the Arbitrary choice and numbers of Women, practised anciently in most Countries) the use of Servants comes to be necessary. These are gained by Victory and Captives, or by Fugitives out of some worse-governed Family, where either they cannot or like not to live, and so sell their Liberty to be assured of what is necessary to Life. Or else by the debased Nature of some of the Children who seem born to drudgery, or who are content to encrease their pains that they may lessen their cares; and upon such terms become Servants to

ſome of their Brothers, whom they moſt eſteem or chuſe ſooneſt to live with.

The Family thus encreaſed, is ſtill under the Father's common, though not equal care; that what is due to the Servants by Contract, or what is fit for them to enjoy, may be provided, as well as the Portions of the Children: And that whatever they acquire by their Induſtry or Ingenuity (beyond what the Maſters expect, or exact from them by the Conditions of their ſervitude) ſhould be as much their Property, as any diviſions of Land or of Stock that are made to the Sons; and the poſſeſſion as ſecure, unleſs forfeited by any demerit or offence againſt the cuſtoms of the Family, which grow with time to be the Orders of this little State.

Now the Father of a Family or Nation, that uſes his Servants like Children in point of Juſtice and Care; and adviſes with his Children in what concerns the Commonweal, and thereby is willingly followed and obeyed by them all; is what I ſuppoſe the Schools mean by a Monarch. And he that by

harſh-

harſhneſs of Nature, wilfulneſs of Humour, intemperance of Paſſions, and arbitrarineſs of Commands, uſes his Children like Servants, is what they mean by a Tyrant. And whereas the firſt thought himſelf ſafe in the love and obedience of his Children, the other knowing that he is feared and hated by them, thinks he cannot be ſafe among his Children, but by putting Arms into the hands of ſuch of his Servants as he thinks moſt at his will; which is the original of Guards. For againſt a Foreign Enemy, and for defence of evident Intereſt, all that can bear Arms in a Nation are Soldiers. Their Cauſe is common Safety; their Pay is Honour: And when they have purchaſed theſe, they return to their homes, and former conditions of peaceable Lives. Such were all the Armies of *Greece* and of *Rome*, in the firſt Ages of their States. Such were their *Gens d' ordonnance* in *France*, and the Train-bands in *England*: but ſtanding Troops, and in conſtant Pay, are properly Servants armed, who uſe the Lance and the Sword, as other Servants do the Sickle, or the Bill at the

command and will of those who entertain them. And therefore Martial-Law is of all other the most absolute, and not like the Government of a Father, but a Master.

And this brings in another sort of Power, distinct from that already described, which follows Authority, and consists in the willing obedience of the People: But this in the command of Soldiers, who as Servants are bound to execute the Will and Orders of those that lead them. And as Authority follows the qualities before-mentioned; so this Power follows Riches, or the opinion of it; a multitude of Servants being his that is able to maintain them. And these kind of Forces come to be used by good Princes only upon necessity of providing for their defence against great and armed Neighbours or Enemies; But by ill ones as a support of decayed Authority, or as they lose the force of that which is Natural and Paternal, and so grow to set up an interest of those that Govern, different from that of those that are Governed, which ought ever to be the same.

Yet

Yet this ſeems a much weaker principle of Government than the other; for the number of Soldiers can never be great in proportion to that of People, no more than the number of thoſe that are idle in a Country, to that of thoſe who live by labour or Induſtry: So as if the People come to unite by any ſtrong Paſſion, or general Intereſt, or under the wiſe conduct of any Authority well rooted in their Minds, they are Maſters of Armies Beſides, the humour of the People runs inſenſibly among the very Soldiers, ſo as it ſeems much alike to keep off by Guards, a general infection, or an univerſal ſedition: For the Diſtemper in both kinds is contageous, and ſeizes upon the defenders themſelves. Beſides, common Pay is a faint Principle of Courage and Action, in compariſon of Religion, Liberty, Honour, Revenge, or Neceſſity; which make every Soldier have the Quarrel as much at heart as their Leaders, and ſeem to have ſpirited all the great Actions, and Revolutions of the World. And laſtly, without the force of Authority, this power of Soldiers grows pernicious to their

their Master who becomes their Servant, and is in danger of their mutinies, as much as any Government can be of the seditions of a People.

If the Father of our Family govern it with Prudence, Goodness, and Success; and his eldest Son appear Heir to the Vertues and worth of his Father; He succeeds in the Government by a Natural Right, and by the Strength of an Authority both derived from his Father, and acquired by his own personal qualities: but if either the eldest Son by qualities degenerate and ill, happen to lose all trust and opinion, and thereby (Authority) in the Family; or else to die before his time, and leave a Child in his room; when the Father comes to fail, then the Children fall into Councils of Election, and either preferr the eldest of the Sons then living, or perhaps one later, and so remoter in Birth, according as He may have acquired Authority by those Qualities which naturally produce it, and promise the best conduct and protection to the common Affairs of the Family.

Where the Father comes to lose his Au-

Authority, many of the elder, or wiſer, or braver of the Sons increaſe in theirs by the ſame degree: and when both theſe arrive at a certain heighth, the Nature of the Government is ready for a change: and upon the Fathers death, or general defection of the Family, they ſucceed in his Authority, whilſt the humour of the whole Body runs againſt the ſucceſſion or election of any ſingle Perſon, which they are grown weary of by ſo late an Example. And thus comes in what they call an *Ariſtocracy*. But Authority contracting it ſelf (as it ſeems naturally to do till it ends in a point or ſingle Perſon) this Government falls ſometimes into the hands of a few, who eſtabliſh it in their Families: and that is called an *Oligarchy*. If the Authority come to be loſt in either of theſe Forms; while the Children of the Family grow into the Manners and Qualities, and perhaps into the condition and poverty of Servants; and while many of the Servants by induſtry and virtue, arrive at riches and eſteem, then the nature of the Government inclines to a *Democracy* or Popular State, which is near

neareſt confuſion, or *Anarchy*; and often runs into it, unleſs upheld or directed by the Authority of one, or of ſome few in the State; though perhaps without Titles or Marks of any extraordinary Office or Dignity.

GOvernments founded upon Contract, may have ſucceeded thoſe founded upon Authority: But the firſt of them ſhould rather ſeem to have been agreed between Princes and Subjects, than between Men of equal Rank and Power. For the Original of Subjection was, I ſuppoſe, when one Nation warring againſt another (for things neceſſary to Life, or for Women, or for extent of Land) overcame their Enemies: if they only won a Battle, and put their Enemies to flight, thoſe they took Priſoners became their Slaves and continued ſo in their Generations, unleſs infranchized by their Maſters: But if by great ſlaughter or frequent Victories, they ſubdued the very courages of their Enemies, while great numbers of them remained alive; then the vanquiſht Nation became ſubject to

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the conquerors by agreement, and upon certain conditions of ſafety and protection; and perhaps equal enjoyment of Liberties and Cuſtoms, with the common Natives under the other Government: If by ſuch frequent ſucceſſes and additions, a Nation extended it ſelf over vaſt Tracts of Land and Numbers of People, it thereby arrived in time at the ancient name of Kingdom, or Modern of Empire.

After ſuch a Victory, the chiefeſt of the conquering Nations become rich and great upon the diviſions of Lands, of Spoils, and of Slaves: By all which they grow into power, are Lords in their own Lands, and over thoſe that inhabit them, with certain Rights or Juriſdictions, and upon certain homages reſerved to the Prince. The cuſtom of employing theſe great Perſons in all great Offices and Councils, grows to paſs for a Right; as all Cuſtom does with length and force of time.

The Prince that Governs according to the conditions of ſubjection at firſt agreed upon (of which Uſe is the authentick Record) and according

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to the ancient Cuſtoms, which are the original Laws (and by which the Right of ſucceſſion in the Crown, as well as private Inheritance and Common Juſtice, is directed and eſtabliſht) is called a Lawful Sovereign: He that breaks and violates theſe ancient Conſtitutions (eſpecially that of Succeſſion) is termed an Uſurper.

A Free Nation is that which has never been conquered, or thereby enter'd into any conditions of Subjection; as the *Romans* were, before they were ſubdued by the *Goths* and *Vandals*: and as the *Turks* ſeem to be at this time; who having been called from *Scythia* to aſſiſt the *Grecian* Empire againſt that of the *Saracens*, made themſelves Maſters of both.

In Countrys ſafer from Foreign Invaſions either by Seas or Rivers, by Mountains and Paſſes, or great Tracts of rough, barren, and uninhabited Lands, People lived generally in ſcattered Dwellings, or ſmall Villages: But where Invaſion is eaſie, and Paſſage open, and bordering Nations are great and valiant; Men croud together, and ſeek their ſafety from number better united,

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and from Walls and other Fortifications, the uſe whereof is to make the few a match for the many, ſo as they may Fight or Treat on equal Terms. And this is the original of Cities; but the greatneſs and riches of them encreaſe according to the commodiouſneſs of their ſituation, in fertile Countries, or upon Rivers and Havens; which ſurpaſs the greateſt fertility of any Soil, in furniſhing plenty of all things neceſſary to Life or Luxury.

When Families meet together, ſurround themſelves by Walls, fall into Order and Laws (either invented by the wiſdom of ſome one, or ſome few Men; and from the evidence of their publick utility received by all; or elſe introduced by experience and time) and theſe Cities preſerve themſelves in the injoyment of their Poſſeſſions, and obſervance of their Inſtitutions, againſt all Invaſions; and never are forced to ſubmit to the will of any Conqueror, or condition of any abſolute Subjection; They are called free Cities: and of ſuch there were many of old, and *Greece* and *Sicily*, deducing their original

ginal from ſome one Founder or Law-giver: And are many now in *Germany* ſubject to no Laws but their own, and thoſe of the Empire, which is an Union of many Soveraign Powers, by whoſe general conſent in their Dyets all its Conſtitutions are framed and eſtabliſhed.

Commonwealths were nothing more in their original, but free Cities, though ſometimes by force of Orders and Diſcipline, or of a numerous and valiant People, they have extended themſelves into mighty dominions: and often by Situation and Trade, grow to vaſt Riches, and thereby to great Power by force of mercenary Arms. And theſe ſeem to be the more artificial, as thoſe of a ſingle Perſon the more Natural Governments; being forced to ſupply the want of Authority by wiſe Inventions, Orders, and Inſtitutions.

For Authority can never be ſo great in many as in one, becauſe the opinion of thoſe Qualities which acquire it, cannot be equal in ſeveral Perſons.

Theſe Governments ſeem to be introduced either by the wiſdom and moderation

deration of ſome one Law-giver, who has Authority enough with the People to be followed and obſerved in all his Orders and Advices; and yet prefers that which he eſteems publick utility, before any intereſt or greatneſs of his own (ſuch were *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*, and *Solon* in *Athens*, and *Timoleon* in *Syracuſe*); Or elſe by the confluence of many Families out of ſome Countries expoſed to ſome fierce or barbarous Invaſions, into Places fortified by Nature, and ſecure from the fury and miſery, of ſuch Conqueſts. Such were *Rhodes* of old, and ſeveral ſmall Iſlands upon the Coaſts of *Ionia*; and ſuch was *Venice*, founded upon the Inundation of the barbarous Nations over *Italy*: Or laſtly, by the ſuppreſſion and extinction of ſome Tyranny, which being thrown off by the violent indignation of an oppreſſed people, makes way for a Popular Government, or at leaſt ſome form very contrary to that which they lately execrated and deteſted: Such were *Rome* upon the expulſion of the *Tarquins*; and the *United Provinces* upon their revolt from *Spain*: Yet are none of theſe

Forms to be raiſed or upheld without the influence of Authority, acquired by the force of opinion of thoſe Virtues above-mentioned, which concur'd in *Brutus* among the *Romans*, and in Prince *William* of *Orange* among thoſe of the *Netherlands*.

I will not enter into the Arguments or compariſons of the ſeveral forms of Government that have been, or are in the World wherein that cauſe ſeems commonly the better, that has the better Advocate, or is advantaged by freſher experience, and impreſſions of good or evil from any of the Forms among thoſe that judge: They have all their heighths and their falls, their ſtrong and weak ſides; are capable of great perfections, and ſubject to great corruptions: and though the preference ſeem already decided in what has been ſaid of a ſingle Perſon being the original and natural Government; and that it is capable of the greateſt Authority, (which is the foundation of all eaſe, ſafety, and order in the Governments of the World) yet it may perhaps be the moſt reaſonably concluded, That thoſe Forms are beſt, which have been longeſt

longeſt received and authorized in a Nation by cuſtom and uſe; and into which the Humours and Manners of the People run with the moſt general and ſtrongeſt Current.

Or elſe, that thoſe are the beſt Governments, where the beſt Men Govern; and that the difference is not ſo great in the forms of Magiſtracy, as in the Perſons of Magiſtrates; which may be the ſenſe of what was ſaid of old, (taking wiſe and good Men, to be ment by Philoſophers) that the beſt Governments were thoſe, where Kings were Philoſophers, or Philoſophers Kings.

THE ſafety and firmneſs of any Frame of Government, may be beſt judged by the Rules of *Architecture*, which teach us that the *Pyramid* is of all Figures the firmeſt, and leaſt ſubject to be ſhaken or overthrown by any Concuſſions or Accidents from the Earth or Air: and it grows ſtill ſo much the firmer, by how much broader the bottom and ſharper the top.

The Ground upon which all Govern-

ment ſtands, is the conſent of the People, or the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of them; whether this proceed from Reflections upon what is paſt, by the reverence of an Authority under which they and their Anceſtors have for many Ages been born and bred; or from ſenſe of what is preſent, by the eaſe, plenty, and ſafety they enjoy: or from Opinions of what is to come, by the fear they have from the preſent Government, or hopes from another. Now that Government which by any of theſe, or all theſe ways, takes in the conſent of the greateſt number of the People, and conſequently their deſires and Reſolutions to ſupport it, may juſtly be ſaid to have the broadeſt bottom, and to ſtand upon the largeſt compaſs of Ground: and if it terminate in the Authority of one ſingle Perſon, it may likewiſe be ſaid to have the narroweſt top, and ſo to make the Figure of the firmeſt ſort of *Pyramid*.

On the contrary, a Government which by alienating the Affections, loſing the opinions, and croſſing the Intereſts of the People, leaves out of its compaſs the greateſt part of their conſent;

ſent; may juſtly be ſaid, in the ſame degrees it thus loſes ground, to narrow its bottom: and if this be done to ſerve the Ambition, humour the Poſſion, ſatisfie the Appetites, or advance the Power and Intereſts not only of one Man, but of two, or more, or many that come to ſhare in the Government: By this means the top may be juſtly ſaid to grow broader; as the bottom narrower by the other. Now by the ſame degrees that either of theſe happen, the ſtability of the Figure is by the ſame leſſened and impaired; ſo as at certain degrees it begins to grow ſubject to accidents of Wind, and of Weather; and at certain others, it is ſure to fall of it ſelf, or by the leaſt ſhake that happens, to the ground.

By theſe meaſures it will appear, that a Monarchy where the Prince governs by the Affections, and according to the Opinions and Intereſts of his People, or the bulk of them, (that is, by many degrees the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of them) makes of all others the ſafeſt and firmeſt Government: and on the contrary, a Popular State which is not founded in the general Humours and

intereſt of the People, but only of the Perſons who ſhare in the Government, or depend upon it, is of all others the moſt uncertain, unſtable, and ſubject to the moſt frequent and eaſie changes.

That a Monarchy the leſs it takes in of the Peoples Opinions and Intereſts, and the more it takes in of the Paſſions and Intereſt of particular Men, (beſides thoſe of the Prince, and contrary to thoſe of the People) the more unſtable it grows, and the more endangered by every ſtorm in the Air, or every ſhake of the Earth: and a Commonwealth, the more it takes in of the general humour and bent of the People, and the more it ſpires up to a Head by the Authority of ſome one Perſon founded upon the love and eſteem of the People; the firmer it ſtands, and leſs ſubject to danger or change by any concuſſions of Earth or of Air.

'Tis true that a *Pyramid* reverſed may ſtand for a while upon its Point, if Balanced by admirable skill, and held up by perpetual care, and there be a calm in the Air about it: Nay if the point be very hard and ſtrong, and the

the ſoil very yielding and ſoft; it may pierce into the Ground with time, ſo as to grow the firmer the longer it ſtands: But this laſt can never happen if either the top of the Figure be weak or ſoft, or if the Soil be hard and rough; and at the beſt it is ſubject to be overthrown, if not by its own weight yet when ever any foreign weight ſhall chance to fall upon any part of it; and the firſt muſt overturn whenever there happens any unequality in the Balance, or any negligence in the hands that ſet it up; and even without either of thoſe, whenever there arrives any violence to ſhake it, either from the Winds abroad, or thoſe in the Bowels of the Earth where it ſtands.

I will not pretend from this Scheme to preſage, or judge of the future events that may attend any Governments; which is the buſineſs of thoſe that are more concerned in them than I am, and write with other deſign than that alone of diſcovering or clearing truth: But I think any Man may deduce from it the Cauſes of the ſeveral Revolutions that we find upon Record to have happen'd in the Governments of the world.

Except ſuch as have been brought about by the unreſiſtible force and conqueſts of ſome Nations over others whom they very much ſurmounted in Strength, Courage, and Numbers: Yet the brave, long, and almoſt incredible Defences that have ſtill been made by thoſe Governments, which were rooted in the general affections, eſteem, and intereſts of the Nation; make it ſeem probable that almoſt all the Conqueſts we read of have been made way for, or in ſome meaſure facilitated, if not aſſiſted by the weakneſs of the conquered Government, grown from the diſeſteem, diſſatisfaction, or indifferency of the People; or from thoſe vicious and effeminate Conſtitutions of Body and mind among them, which ever grow up in the corrupt Air of a weak or looſe, a vicious or a factious State: And ſuch can never be ſtrong in the Hearts of the People; nor conſequently firm upon that which is the true bottom of all Governments in the World.

Thus the ſmall *Athenian* State reſiſted with ſucceſs the vaſt Power and Forces of the *Perſians* in the time of *Miltiades*

Miltiades and *Themiſtocles*; *Rome* thoſe of the *Gauls* in the time of *Camillus*: And the vaſt Armies collected from *Africk*, *Spain*, and the greateſt part of *Italy*, in the *Carthaginian* Wars (under the Conduct of ſeveral great Captains; but chiefly *Fabius* and *Scipio*): The little Principality of *Epire* was invincible by the whole power of the *Turks* in Three ſeveral Invaſions under their Prince *Caſtriot* (commonly called *Scanderbeg*:) The Kingdom of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, by all the Wars of the *Moors* or *Saracens* for many ages: The State of *Venice*, by thoſe of the *Turks*: The *Switzers*, by the Power of the Emperours: And the *Hollanders*, by that of *Spain*: Becauſe in all theſe Wars the People were both united and ſpirited by the common love of their Country, their Liberty, or Religion; Or by the more particular eſteem and love of their Princes and Leaders.

In the Conqueſt of the *Lydians* by *Cyrus*, and the *Perſians* by *Alexander*; of the great *Aſian* and *Egyptian* Kings by the *Roman* State, and of all the *Roman* Provinces by the ſeveral Northern (or, as they were uſually called, Barbarous)

rous) Nations; of the *Spaniards* by the *Moors*; the *Gauls* by the *Franks*; and of our ancient *Britains* by the *Saxons*. It is eaſie and obvious to obſerve that the reſiſtances where rendered faint and weak; either by the ſoft and effeminate diſpoſitions of the People grown up under the eaſineſs, or examples of vicious or luxurious Princes, whom they neither honour nor willingly obey: Or elſe by the common hatred and diſdain of their preſent ſervitude, which they were content to change for any other that came in their way: Or laſtly, by the diſtracted factions of a diſcontented Nation, who agreed in no one common deſign or defence; nor under any Authority grounded upon the general love or eſteem of the People.

Of Inſtability and Changes of Government arrived by narrowing their bottoms, which are the conſent or concurrence of the Peoples affections and intereſts, all ſtories and ages afford continual Examples. From hence proceeded the frequent tumults, ſeditions, and alterations in the Commonwealths of *Athens* and *Rome*, as often as either by the

the charms of Orators, or the ſway of Men grown to unuſual Power and Riches; the Governments were engaged in Counſels or actions contrary to the general intereſts of the People. Hence the ſeveral violent changes that have arrived in the Races or Perſons of the Princes of *England*, *France*, or *Spain*: Nor has the force hereof appeared any where more viſible than in *France*, during the Reign of *Henry* the Third, and a conſtant Succeſſion of Minions (as they were then called) where all was conducted by the private Paſſions, Humours, and Intereſts of a few Perſons in ſole confidence with the King, contrary to thoſe more publick, and current of the People; till he came to loſe at firſt all eſteem, afterwards obedience, and at laſt his Life, in the troubles given him by the League.

That Government was in the ſame manner expoſed to the Dominion of ſucceeding Favourites, during the Regency of the Queen-Mother in the Minority of *Lewis* the 13*th*, which occaſioned perpetual commotions in that State, and changes of the Miniſtry; and would certainly have produced thoſe

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in the Government too; if *Richelieu* having gained the abſolute aſcendant in that *Court*, had not engaged in the deſigns at firſt of a War upon the *Hugonots*, and after that was ended, upon *Spain*; In both which he fell in with the currant humour and diſpoſitions of the People; which with the proſperous ſucceſſes of both thoſe Enterpriſes, helped to bear up him and the Government, againſt all the hatred and continual Practices of the great ones in the Kingdom.

But the two freſheſt Examples may be drawn from the revolutions of *England* in the Year Sixty and of *Holland* in Seventy two. In the firſt, The uſurped Powers that had either deſigned no Root, or at leaſt drawn none but only in the Affections and Intereſts of thoſe that were engaged with the Government; thought themſelves ſecure in the Strength of an unfoiled Army of above Sixty thouſand Men, and in a Revenue proportionable, raiſed by the awe of their Forces, though with the mock-forms of Legal Supplies by pretended Parliaments: Yet we ſaw them forced to give way to the bent and cur-

current Humour of the People, in favour of their Ancient and Lawful Government; and this mighty Army of a ſudden loſe their Heart and their Strength, abandon what they had ſo long called their Cauſe and their Intereſt, and content themſelves to be moulded again into the Maſs of the People; and by conſpiring with the general humour of the Nation, make way for the King's glorious Reſtauration without a drop of Blood drawn, in the end of a Quarrel the beginning and courſe whereof had been ſo fatal to the Kingdom.

For the other in *Holland*, the conſtitution of their Government had continued Twenty years in the hands of their Popular Magiſtrates, after the excluſion or intermiſſion of the Authority of the Houſe of *Orange*, upon the death of the laſt Prince, and Infancy of this. The chief direction of their Affairs had for Eighteen years lain conſtantly in the Hands of their Penſioner *de Witt*, a Miniſter of the greateſt Authority and Sufficiency, the greateſt application and induſtry that was ever known in their State. In the courſe of his

his Miniſtry, He and his Party had reduced not only all the Civil charges of the Government in his Province, but in a manner all the Military Commands in the Army out of the hands of Perſons affectionate to the Houſe of *Orange*, into thoſe eſteemed ſure and faſt to the Intereſts of their more Popular State. And all this had been attended for ſo long a courſe of years with the perpetual ſucceſs of their Affairs, by the growth of their Trade, Riches, and Power at home, and the conſideration of their Neighbours abroad: Yet the general hmmour of kindneſs in the people to their old form of Government under the Princes of *Orange*, grew up with the Age and Virtues of the young Prince, ſo as to raiſe the proſpect of ſome unavoidable Revolutions among them for ſeveral years before it arrive. And we have ſeen it grow to that heighth in this preſent year, upon the Princes coming to the Two and Twentieth of his Age (the time aſſigned him by their Conſtitutions for his entring upon the publick charges of their *Milice*) that though it had found them in Peace, it muſt have occaſioned ſome vio-

violent ſedition in their State: But meeting with the conjuncture of a Foreign Invaſion, it broke out into ſo furious a rage of the People, and ſuch general Tumults through the whole Country, as ended in the Blood of their chief Miniſters: In the diſplacing all that were ſuſpected to be of their Party throughout the Government; In the full reſtitution of the Prince's Authority, to the higheſt Point any of his Anceſtors ever enjoyed: But withal, in ſuch a diſtraction of their Councils, and their Actions, as made way for the eaſie ſucceſſes of the *French* Invaſion; for the loſs of almoſt Five of their Provinces in Two Months time, and for the general Preſages of utter ruine to their State.

Dublin, July 22. 1673.

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

Advancement of TRADE

IN

IRELAND.

Written to the Earl of Eſſex, *Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom.*

My LORD,

I Know not what it was that fell into diſcourſe t'other day, and gave your Excellency the occaſion of deſiring me to digeſt into ſome Method, and upon Paper, the Means and Ways I eſteemed

moſt proper for the advancing of Trade in *Ireland*: This I know very well, that you did it in a manner, and with Expreſſions too obliging to be refuſed, and out of a deſign ſo publick and generous, as ought not to be diſcouraged. I had therefore much rather obey your Lorſhip in this Point, how ill ſoever I do it, than excuſe my ſelf, though never ſo well; which were much eaſier than the other. For I might alledge, that neither my Birth nor my Breeding has been at all in this Country: That I have paſſed only one ſhort Period of my Life here, and the greateſt part thereof wholly out of Buſineſs and publick Thoughts: That I have ſince been Ten years abſent from it; and am now here upon no other occaſion than of a ſhort Viſit to ſome of my Friends: Which are all Circumſtances that make me a very improper Subject for ſuch a Command. But I ſuppoſe the vein I have had of running into Speculations of this kind upon a greater Scene of Trade, and in a Country where I was more a Stranger; and the too partial Favour your Lordſhip has expreſt to another Diſcourſe of this nature, have

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coſt me this preſent Service; and you have thought fit to puniſh me for one Folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the Confeſſor, that preſcribed a Drunkard the Penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordſhip ſhall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excuſed; which is all I pretend to upon this occaſion.

Before I enter upon the Conſiderations of Trade, which are more general, and may be more laſting in this Kingdom, I will obſerve to your Lordſhip ſome particular Circumſtances in the Conſtitution and Government, which have been hitherto, and may be long the great Diſcouragers of Trade and Riches here; and ſome others in the preſent Conjuncture, which are abſolutely mortal to it; that ſo you may not expect to find Remedies where indeed there is none; nor ſuffer Men, like buſie ignorant Phyſicians, to apply ſuch as are contrary to the Diſeaſe, becauſe they cannot find ſuch as are proper for it.

The true and natural Ground of Trade and Riches, is number of People, in proportion to the compaſs of

Ground they inhabit. This makes all things neceſſary to life dear, and that forces men to induſtry and parſimony. Theſe Cuſtoms which grow firſt from neceſſity, come with time to be habitual in a Country. And where-ever they are ſo, that place muſt grow great in Traffick and Riches, if not diſturbed by ſome accidents or revolutions, as of Wars, of Plagues, or Famines, by which the People come to be either ſcattered or deſtroyed.

People are multiplied in a Country by the temper of the Climate, favourable to generation, to health, and long-life. Or elſe by the Circumſtances of ſafety and eaſe under the Government, the credit whereof invites men over to it, when they cannot be either ſafe or eaſie at home. When things are once in motion, Trade begets Trade, as Fire does Fire; and People go much, where much People are already gone. So Men run ſtill to a Crowd where they ſee it in the Streets, or the Fields, though it be only to do as others do, to ſee or to be entertained.

The want of Trade in *Ireland* proceeds from the want of People; and this

is not grown from any ill qualities of the Climate or Air, but chiefly from the frequent Revolutions of ſo many Wars and Rebellions, ſo great Slaughters and Calamities of Mankind as have at ſeveral Intervals of time ſucceeded the firſt Conqueſt of this Kingdom in *Henry* the Second's time, until in the Year 1653. Two very great Plagues followed the two great Wars, thoſe of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and the laſt; which helped to drain the currant ſtream of Generation in the Country.

The diſcredit which is grown upon the Conſtitutions or Settlements of this Kingdom, by ſo frequent and unhappy Revolutions that for many Ages have infeſted it, has been the great diſcouragement to other Nations to tranſplant themſelves hither, and prevailed further than all the Invitations which the Cheapneſs and plenty of the Country has made them. So that had it not been for the numbers of the *Britiſh*, which the neceſſity of the late Wars at firſt drew over, and of ſuch who either as adventurers or Soldiers ſeated themſelves here upon account of

the ſatisfaction made to them in Land, the Country had by the laſt War and Plague been left in a manner deſolate.

Beſides the Subordinacy of the Government changing Hands ſo often, makes an unſteadineſs in the purſuit of the publick Intereſts of the Kingdom, gives way to the Emulations of the different Factions, and draws the Favour or Countenance of the Government ſometimes to one Party or Intereſt, ſometimes to another: This makes different Motions in Mens Minds, raiſing Hopes and Fears, and Opinions of uncertainty in their Poſſeſſions; and thereby in the Peace of the Country.

This Subordinacy in the Government, and emulation of Parties, with the want ſometimes of Authority in the Governour (by the weakneſs of his Credit and Support at Court) occaſions the perpetual Agencies or Journeys into *England* of all Perſons that have any conſiderable Pretences in *Ireland*, and Money to purſue them; which end many times in long Abodes, and frequent habituating of Families there, though

though they have no Money to ſupport them, but what is drawn out of *Ireland*. Beſides, the young Gentlemen go of courſe for their Breeding there; ſome ſeek their Health, and others their Entertainment in a better Climate or Scene: By theſe means the Country loſes the expence of many of the richeſt Perſons or Families at home, and mighty ſums of Money muſt needs go over from hence into *England*, which the great Stock of rich Native Commodities here can make the only amends for.

Theſe Circumſtances ſo prejudicial to the encreaſe of Trade and Riches in a Country, ſeem natural, or at leaſt have ever been incident to the Government here; and without them, the Native Fertility of the Soil and Seas in ſo many rich Commodities improved by multitude of People and Induſtry, with the advantage of ſo many excellent Havens, and a Situation ſo commodious for all ſorts of Foreign Trade, muſt needs have rendred this Kingdom one of the richeſt in *Europe*, and made a mighty encreaſe both of Strength and Revenue to the Crown of *England*;

whereas it has hitherto been rather esteemed and found to be our weak-side, and to have cost us more blood and treasure than 'tis worth.

Since my late arrival in *Ireland*, I have found a very unusual, but I doubt very just complaint concerning the scarcity of Money; which occasioned many airy Propositions for the remedy of it, and among the rest that of raising some, or all of the Coyns here. This was chiefly grounded upon the experience made as they say about the Duke of *Ormond*'s coming first over hither in 1663, when the Plate-pieces of Eight were raised three Pence in the Piece, and a mighty plenty of Money was observed to grow in *Ireland* for a year or two after. But this seems to me a very mistaken account, and to have depended wholly upon other circumstances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raising of the Money to which it is by some great Men attributed. For first, there was about that time a general peace and serenity, which had newly succeeded a general trouble and cloud throughout all His Majesty's Kingdoms; then after two

years

years attendance in *England*, upon the ſettlement of *Ireland* (there on the forge) by all perſons and parties here that were conſiderably intereſted in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main ſettlement of *Ireland* wound up in *England*, and put into the Duke of *Ormond*'s Hands to paſs here into an Act; all perſons came over in a ſhoal, either to attend their own concernments in the main, or more particularly to make their Court to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom His Majeſty had at that time in a manner wholly devolved the care and diſpoſition of all affairs in this Kingdom. This made a ſudden and mighty ſtop of that iſſue of Money which had for two years run perpetually out of *Ireland* into *England*, and kept it all at home. Nor is the very expence of the Duke of *Ormond*'s own great Patrimonial Eſtate, with that of ſeveral other Families that came over at that time, of ſmall conſideration in the ſtock of this Kingdom. Beſides, there was a great ſum of Money in ready Coyn brought over out of *England* at the ſame time, towards the arrears of the Army: which are

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all Circumſtances that muſt needs have made a mighty change in the courſe of ready Money here. All the Effect that I conceive was made by crying up the Pieces of Eight, was to bring in much more of that Species in ſtead of others currant here, (as indeed all the Money brought from *England* was of that ſort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worſe Allay), and to carry away much *Engliſh* Money in exchange for Plate-pieces; by which a Trade was driven very beneficial to the Traders, but of mighty loſs to the Kingdom in the intrinſick Value of their Money.

The Circumſtances at this time ſeem to be juſt the reverſe of what they were then: The Nation's engaged in a War the moſt fatal to Trade of any that could ariſe: The Settlement of *Ireland* ſhaken at the Court, and falling into new Diſquiſitions (whether in truth, or in common opinion, is all a caſe): This draws continual Agencies and Journies of People concerned into *England*, to watch the Motions of the main Wheel there. Beſides, the Lieutenants of *Ireland* ſince the Duke of *Ormond*'s time,

time have had little in their diſpoſition here, and only executed the Reſolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general Affairs; which has drawn thither the attendance of all private Pretenders. The great Eſtates of this Kingdom have been four or five Years conſtantly ſpent in *England*. Money, in ſtead of coming over hither for pay of the Army, has, ſince the War began, been transmitted thither for pay of thoſe Forces that were called from hence. And laſtly, This War has had a more particular and mortal influence upon the Trade of this Country, than upon any other of His Majeſty's Kingdoms.

For by the Act againſt Tranſportation of Cattle into *England*, the Trade of this Country which runs wholly thither before, was turned very much into Foreign Parts; but by this War the laſt is ſtopped, and the other not being open'd, there is in a manner no vent for any Commodity but of Wooll. This neceſſity has forced the Kingdom to go on ſtill with their Foreign Trade; but that has been with ſuch mighty Loſſes by the great number of *Dutch* Privateers

vateers plying about the Coaſts, and the want of *Engliſh* Frigates to ſecure them, that the Stock of the Kingdom muſt be extreamly diminiſhed. Yet by the continuance of the ſame Expence and Luxury in point of living, Money goes over into *England* to fetch what muſt ſupply it, though little Commodities goes either there or abroad to make any conſiderable balance: By all which it muſt happen, that with another Years continuance of the War there will hardly be Money left in this Kingdom to turn the common Markets, or pay any Rents, or leave any Circulation further than the Receipts of the Cuſtoms and Quit-rents, and the Pays of the Army, which in both kinds muſt be the laſt that fail.

In ſuch a Conjuncture, the crying up of any Species of Money will but encreaſe the want of it in general; for while there goes not out Commodity to balance that which is brought in, and no degree of Gains by exportation will make amends for the Venture; what ſhould Money come in for, unleſs it be to carry out other Money as it did before, and leave the Stock that re-

remains equal indeed in denomination, but lower in the intrinſick value than it was before? In ſhort, while this War laſts, and our Seas are ill guarded, all that can be done towards preſerving the ſmall remainder of Money in this Kingdom, is, Firſt, To introduce as far as can be, a Vein of Parſimony throughout the Country in all things that are not perfectly the Native Growths and Manufactures: Then by ſeverity and ſteadineſs of the Government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in ſome credit the preſent Peace and Settlement: And laſtly, to force Men to a degree of Induſtry, by ſuffering none to hope that they ſhall be able to live by Rapine or Fraud. For in ſome Diſeaſes of a Civil as well as a Natural Body, all that can be done is to faſt and to reſt, to watch and to prevent Accidents, to truſt to Methods rather than Medicines or Remedies; and with patience to expect till the Humours being ſpent, and the *Criſis* paſt, way may be made for the natural Returns of Health and of Strength.

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This being premiſed as peculiar either to the Government in general, or to the preſent conjuncture; I ſhall proceed to ſuch Obſervations as occur concerning the ways of advancing the common and ſtanding Trade of this Kingdom.

The Trade of a Country ariſes from the native Growths of the Soil or Seas; the Manufactures, the commodiouſneſs of Ports, and the ſtore of Shipping which belong to it. The Improvement therefore of Trade in *Ireland*, muſt be conſidered in the ſurvey of all theſe Particulars, the Defects, to which at preſent they are ſubject, and the Encreaſes they are capable of receiving either from the courſe of Time, the change of Cuſtoms, or the conduct and application of the Government.

The native Commodities or common eaſie Manufactures which make up the Exportation of this Kingdom, and conſequently furniſh both the Stock of Foreign Commodities conſumed in the Country, and that likewiſe of currant Money, by which all Trade is turned, are Wooll, Butter, Beef, Cattel, Fiſh, Iron; and by the improvement of

of theſe, either in the quantity, the credit, or the further Manufacture, the Trade of *Ireland* ſeems chiefly to be advanced.

In this Survey one thing muſt be taken notice of as peculiar to this Country, which is, That as in the nature of its Government, ſo in the very improvement of its Trade and Riches, it ought to be conſidered not only in its own proper intereſt, but likewiſe in its relation to *England*, to which it is ſubordinate, and upon whoſe weal in the main, that of this Kingdom depends, and therefore a regard muſt be had of thoſe points wherein the Trade of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main branches of the Trade of *England*; in which caſes the encouragement of ſuch Trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and ſo give way to the intereſt of Trade in *England*, upon the health and vigour whereof, the ſtrength, riches and glory of his Majeſties Crowns ſeem chiefly to depend. But on the other ſide, ſome ſuch branches of Trade ought not wholly to be ſuppreſt, but rather ſo far admitted as may ſerve the gene-

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ral conſumption of this Kingdom, leſt by too great an importation of Commodities, though out of *England* it ſelf, the Money of this Kingdom happen to be drawn away in ſuch a degree, as not to leave a ſtock ſufficient for turning the Trade at home; the effect hereof would be general diſcontents among the People, complaints, or at leaſt ill impreſſions of the Government; which in a Country compoſed of three ſeveral Nations different to a great degree in Language, Cuſtoms and Religion, as well as Intereſts (both of property and dependances) may prove not only dangerous to this Kingdom, but to *England* it ſelf. Since a ſore in the Leg may affect the whole Body, and in time grow as difficult a cure as if it were in the Head; eſpecially where Humours abound.

The Wooll of *Ireland* ſeems not to be capable of any encreaſe, nor to ſuffer under any defect, the Country being generally full ſtockt with Sheep, cleared of Wolves, the Soil little ſubject to other Rots than of Hunger; and all the conſiderable flocks being of *Engliſh* breed, and the ſtaple of Wooll gene-

generally equal with that of *Northampton* or *Leiceſterſhire*, the improvement of this Commodity by manufactures in this Kingdom would give ſo great a damp to the Trade of *England* (of which Clothes, Stuffs and Stockings make ſo mighty a part) that it ſeems not fit to be incouraged here, at leaſt no further than to ſuch a quantity of one or two Summer-ſtuffs, *Iriſh*-freeze, and Cloth from Six Shillings to Fourteen, as may ſupply in ſome meaſure the ordinary conſumption of the Kingdom. That which ſeems moſt neceſſary in this Branch, is the careful and ſevere execution of the Statutes provided to forbid the Exportation of Wooll to any other parts but to *England*; which is the more to be watched and feared, ſince thereby the preſent Riches of this Kingdom would be mightily increaſed, and great advantages might be made by the connivance of Governours; whereas on the other ſide, this would prove a moſt ſenſible decay, if not deſtruction of Manufactures both here and in *England* it ſelf.

Yarn is a Commodity very proper to this Country, but made in no great

quantities in any parts beſides the North nor any where into Linen to any great degree, or of ſorts fit for the better uſes at home, or exportation abroad; though of all others, this ought moſt to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly deſigned by the Earl of *Strafford*. The Soil produces Flax kindly and well, and fine too, anſwerable to the care uſed in choice of Seed and exerciſe of Husbandry; and much Land is fit for it here, which is not ſo for Corn. The Manufacture of it in gathering or beating, is of little toil or application, and ſo the fitter for the Natives of the Country. Beſides, no Women are apter to ſpin it well than the *Iriſh*, who labouring little in any kind with their Hands, have their Fingers more ſupple and ſoft than other Women of the poorer condition among us; and this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great Manufacture of Linen, ſo as to beat down the Trade both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the Money which goes from *England* to thoſe Parts upon this occaſion, into the Hands of His Majeſty's Subjects of *Ireland*, without croſſing

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any intereſt of Trade in *England*. For beſides what has been ſaid of Flax and Spinning, the Soil and Climate are proper for whitening, both by the frequency of Brooks, and alſo of Winds in the Country.

Much care was ſpent upon this deſign in an Act of Parliament paſs'd the laſt Seſſion, and ſomething may have been advanced by it; but the too great rigor impoſed upon the ſowing of certain quantities of Flax, has cauſed (and perhaps juſtly) a general neglect in the execution; and common guilt has made the Penalties impracticable; ſo as the main effect has been ſpoiled by too much diligence, and the Child killed with kindneſs. For the Money applyed by that Act to the encouragement of making fine Linen, and broad, (which I think is twenty pounds every year in each County), though the inſtitution was good, yet it has not reached the end, by encouraging any conſiderable application that way; ſo that ſometimes one ſhare of that Money is paid to a ſingle pretender at the Sizes or Seſſions; and ſometimes a ſhare is ſaved, for want of any pretender at all.

This Trade may be advanced by ſome amendments to the laſt Act in another Seſſion, whereby the neceſſity of ſowing Flax may be ſo limited, as to be made eaſily practicable, and ſo may be forced by the ſeverity of levying the Penalties Enacted. And for the Money allotted in the Counties no Perſon ought to carry the firſt, ſecond, or third price, without producing two Pieces of Linen of each (ſort whereas one only now is neceſſary). And ſevere defences may be made againſt weaving any Linen under a certain breadth, ſuch as may be of better uſe to the pooreſt People and in the courſeſt Linen, than the narrow *Iriſh* Cloth; and may bear ſome price abroad when ever more comes to be made than is conſumed at home. But after all theſe or ſuch like Proviſions, there are but two things which can make any extraordinary advance in this Branch of Trade, and thoſe are: Firſt, An increaſe of People in the Country to ſuch a degree as may make things neceſſary to Life dear, and thereby force general induſtry from each Member of a Family (Women as well as Men), and

and in as many ſorts as they can well turn to, which among others may in time come to turn the Vein this way. The ſecond is a particular application in the Government. And this muſt be made either by ſome Governour upon his own private account, who has a great ſtock that he is content to turn that way, and is invited by the gain, or elſe by the honour of bringing to paſs a Work of ſo much publick utility both to *England* and *Ireland* (which Circumſtances I ſuppoſe concur'd both in the Earl of *Strafford*'s deſign); and whenever they meet again, can have no better Copy to follow in all particulars, than that begun at the *Naas* in his time. Or elſe by a conſiderable ſum of Money being laid aſide, either out of His Majeſty's preſent Revenue, or ſome future Subſidy to be granted for this Occaſion: And this either to be imployed in ſetting up of ſome great Linen Manufacture in ſome certain Place, and to be managed by ſome certain Hands both for making all ſorts of fine Clothes, and of thoſe for Sails too. The benefit or loſs of ſuch a Trade accruing to the

Government, until it comes to take root in the Nation. Or elſe if this ſeem too great an undertaking for the humour of our Age, then ſuch a ſum of Money to lie ready in Hands appointed by the Government, for taking off at common moderate Prizes all ſuch Pieces of Cloth as ſhall be brought in by any Perſons at certain times to the chief Town of each County; and all ſuch pieces of Cloth as are fit for Sails, to be carried into the Stores of the Navy. All that are fit for the uſe of the Army, to be given the Soldiers (as Cloaths are) in part of their Pay: And all finer pieces to be ſold, and the Money ſtill applied to the encreaſe or conſtant ſupply of the main Stock. The effect hereof would be, That People finding a certain Market for this Commodity, and that of others, ſo uncertain as it is in this Kingdom, would turn ſo much of their induſtry this way, as would ſerve to furniſh a great part of that Money, which is moſt abſolutely neceſſary for payment of Taxes, Rents, or ſubſiſtence of Families.

Hide, Tallow, Butter, Beef, ariſe all from

from one ſort of Cattle, and are ſubject to the ſame general defects, and capable of the ſame common improvements.

The three firſt are certain Commodities, and yield the readieſt Money of any that are turned in this Kingdom becauſe they never fail of a price abroad. Beef is a Drug, finding no conſtant vent abroad, and therefore yeilding no rate at home: for the conſumption of the Kingdom holds no proportion with the product that is uſually made of Cattle in it; ſo that in many Parts at this time an Ox may be bought in the Country-Markets, and the Hide and Tallow ſold at the next Trading-Town for near as much as it coſt. The defects of theſe Commodities lie either in the age and feeding of the Cattle that are killed, or in the Manufacture and making them up for exportation abroad.

Until the Tranſportation of Cattle into *England* was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickeſt Trade of ready Money here was driven by the ſale of young Bullocks, which for four or five Summer-months of the

year were carried over in very great numbers, and this made all the Breeders in the Kingdom turn their Lands and Stocks chiefly to that ſort of Cattle. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than ſerved the Conſumption within: and few Oxen for draught, which was all performed by raſcally ſmall Horſes; ſo as the Cattle generally ſold either for ſlaughter within, or Exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at beſt four years old, and thoſe ſuch as had never been either handled or wintered at hand-meat, but bred wholly upon the Mountains in Summer, and upon the withered long Graſs of the lower Lands in the Winter. The effect hereof was very pernitious to this Kingdom in what concerned all theſe Commodities; The Hides were ſmall, thin, and lank: The Tallow much leſs in quantity, and of quicker conſumption. Little Butter was exported abroad, and that diſcredited by the houſwifery of the *Iriſh*, in making it up; moſt of what was ſent coming from their Hands, who alone kept up the Trade of Daries, becauſe the breed of their Cattel was not fit for the *Engliſh*

liſh Markets. But above all, the Trade of Beef for foreign Exportation was prejudiced and almoſt ſunk: for the Fleſh being young, and only Graſs-fed (and that on a ſudden by the ſweetneſs of the Summers Paſture, after the Cattle being almoſt ſtarved in the Winter) was thin, light and moiſt, and not of a ſubſtance to endure the Salt, or be preſerved by it, for long Voyages, or a ſlow Conſumption. Beſides, either the unskilfulneſs, or careleſneſs, or Knavery of the Traders, added much to the undervalue and diſcredit of theſe Commodities abroad; for the Hides were often made up very dirty, which increaſed the weight, by which that Commodity is ſold when it comes in quanties abroad. The Butter would be better on the top and bottom of the Barrel, than in the middle, which would be ſometimes filled up, or mingled with Tallow; nay, ſometimes with Stones. The Beef would be ſo ill choſen, or ſo ill cured, as to ſtink many times before it came ſo far as *Holland*, or at leaſt not prove a Commodity that would defray the firſt charge of the Merchant before it was ſhipt.

ſhipt. Nay I have known Merchants there fain to throw away great Quantities, after having lain long in their Hands without any Market at all.

After the Act in *England* had wholly ſtopt the Tranſportation of Cattle, the Trade of this Kingdom was forced to find out a new Channel; a great deal of Land was turned to Sheep, becauſe Wooll gave ready Money for the *Engliſh* Markets, and by ſtealth for thoſe abroad. The Breeders of *Engliſh* Cattle turn'd much to Dairy, or elſe by keeping their Cattle to ſix and ſeven year old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef-trade abroad; and ſome of the Merchants fell into care and exactneſs in Barrelling them up; and hereby the improvements of this Trade were grown ſo ſenſible in the courſe of a few years, that in the year 1669, ſome Merchants in *Holland* aſſured me, that they had received parcels of Beef out of *Ireland* which ſold current, and very near the *Engliſh*; and of Butter which ſold beyond it; and that they had obſerved it ſpent as if it came from the richer Soil of the two. 'Tis moſt evident, that if the *Dutch* War

War had not broken out ſo ſoon after the improvements of all theſe Trades (forced at firſt by neceſſity, and growing afterwards habitual by uſe), a few years would have very much advanced the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom, and made it a great gainer, inſtead of loſing by the Act againſt Tranſportation of their Cattle: but the War gave a ſudden damp to this and all other Trade, which is ſunk to nothing by the continuance of it.

However, having marked the defects that were even in time of peace, it may not be uſeleſs to ſet down the Remedies though little practicable while the War laſts. For that great one of killing Cattle young, and only Graſs fed, I know none ſo effectual as introducing a general cuſtom of uſing Oxen for all ſorts of draught, which would be perhaps the greateſt improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the Kingdom. By this means the great ſlaughter would be made of full-grown, large, and well wintered Cattle, which would double the income made by Hide, Tallow and Beef, and raiſe their Credit in all foreign Markets;

kets, every Man would be forced to provide Winter-Fodder for his Team (whereas common Garrans ſhift upon Graſs the year round); and this would force Men to the encloſing of Grounds, and improving Bog into Meadows; the Race of Garrans would decreaſe, and ſo make room for the Countrys maintaining the greater number of Cattle, which makes a foreign Commodity, though they die by accident or age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or uſefull thing is to be atchieved, without difficulties; and therefore what may be raiſed againſt this Propoſal, ought not to diſcourage the attempting it. Firſt, the Statutes againſt that barbarous cuſtom of Plowing by the Tail, ought to be renewed, and upon abſolute Forfeitures inſtead of Penalties; the conſtant and eaſie compoſitions whereof, have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this were wholly diſuſed, the Harneſs for Horſes being dearer than for Oxen, the *Iriſh* would turn their draught to the laſt, where-ever they have hitherto uſed the Plowing by the Tail.

Tail. Next, a Standard might be made, under which no Horſe ſhould be uſed for draught; this would not only enlarge the breed of Horſes, but make way for the uſe of Oxen, becauſe they would be cheaper kept than large good Horſes, which could not be wintered like Garrans without houſing or fodder. And laſtly, a Tax might be laid upon every Horſe of draught throughout the Kingdom; which beſides the main uſe here intended, would increaſe the King's Revenue by one of the eaſieſt ways that is any where in uſe.

For the miſcarriages mentioned in the making up of thoſe ſeveral Commodities for foreign Markets, they muſt liſhewiſe be remedied by ſevere Laws, or elſe the improvements of the Commodities themſelves will not ſerve to bring them in Credit, upon which all Trade turns. firſt the Ports out of which ſuch Commodities ſhall be ſhipt, may by reſtrained to a certain number, ſuch as lie moſt convenient for the vent of the Inland Provinces, and ſuch as either are already, or are capable of being made regular Corporations. Whatever of them ſhall be carried

carried out of any other Port, ſhall be penal both to the Merchant that delivers, and to the Maſter that receives them. In the Ports allowed ſhall be publiſhed Rules agreed on by the skilfulleſt Merchants in thoſe Wares, to be obſerved in the making up of all ſuch as are intended for foreign Tranſportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to thoſe Rules, ſhall not be ſuffered to go out. Two Officers may be appointed to be choſen every three years by the Body of the Corporation, whoſe buſineſs ſhall be to inſpect all Barrels of Beef, Tallow, Butter, and all Packs of Hides, and put to them the Seal or Mark of the Corporation, without which none ſhall be ſuffer'd to go abroad; Nor ſhall this Mark be affixed to any Parcels by thoſe Officers, but ſuch as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the Rules ſet forth for that purpoſe. Whereof one ought to be certain, That every Barrel be of the ſame conſtant weight, or ſomething over. If this were obſerved for a ſmall courſe of time, under any certain Marks, the credit of them both as to quality and weight, would

would riſe to that degree, that the Barrels or Packs would go off in the Markets they uſed abroad, upon ſight of the Mark, like Silver-plate upon ſight of the City's Mark where 'tis made.

The great difficulty will lie in the good execution of the Offices: but the Intereſt of ſuch Corporations lying ſo deep in the credit of their Mark, will make emulation among them, every one vying to raiſe their own as high as they can; and this will make them careful in the choice of Men fit for that turn. Beſides, the Offices ought to be made beneficial to a good degree, by a certain Fee upon every Seal; and yet the Office to be forfeited upon every miſcarriage of the Officer, which ſhall be judged ſo by the chief Magiſtrates of the Town, and thereupon a new Election be made by the Body of the Corporation.

Cattle for Exportation, are Sheep, Bullocks, Horſes; and of one or other of theſe kinds the Country ſeems to be full-ſtockt, no ground that I hear of being untenanted: the two firſt ſeem ſufficiently improved in the kinds

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as well as the number, moſt of both being of the *Engliſh* breed. And though it were better for the Country if the number of Horſes being leſſened, made room for that of encreaſing Sheep, and great Cattel; yet it ſeems indifferent which of theſe two were moſt turn'd to, and that will be regulated by the liberty or reſtraint of carrying live Cattel into *England*. When the paſſage is open, Land will be turned moſt to great Cattel; when ſhut to Sheep, as it is at preſent; though I am not of opinion it can laſt, becauſe that Act ſeems to have been carried on rather by the intereſts of particular Counties in *England*, than by that of the whole, which in my Opinion muſt be evidently a loſer by it. For firſt, the freight of all Cattel that were brought over, being in *Engliſh* Veſſels, was ſo much clear gain to *England*; and this was one with another near a third, or at leaſt a fourth part of the price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the firſt Market, made them double the price by one years feeding; which was the greateſt improvement to be made of our dry Pa-

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ſture-land in *England*. The Trade of Hides, and Tallow, or elſe of Leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten down in foreign Markets by *Ireland*, if they come to kill all their Cattle at home. The young *Iriſh* Cattle ſerved for the common conſumption in *England*, while their own large old fat Cattle went into the Barrel for the foreign Trade, in which *Iriſh* Beef had in a manner no part, though by the continuance of this reſtraint it will be forced upon improvement, and come to ſhare with *England* in the Beef-Trade abroad. Grounds were turned much in *England* from breeding, either to feeding or Dairy, and this advanced the Trade of *Engliſh* Butter, which will be extreamly beaten down when *Ireland* turns to it too (and in the way of *Engliſh* Huſwifery, as it has done a great deal ſince the reſtraint upon Cattle). And laſtly, whereas *Ireland* had before very little Trade but with *England*, and with the Money for their Cattle bought all the Commodities there which they wanted; By this reſtraint they are forced to ſeek a foreign Market; and

where they ſell, they will be ſure to buy too; and all the foreign Merchandize which they had before from *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amſterdam*, *Lisbon* and the *Streights*. As for the true cauſes of the decay of Rents in *England*, which made the occaſion of that Act, they were to be found in the want of People, in the mighty conſumption of foreign Commodities among the better ſort, and in a higher way of living among all, and not in this Tranſportation of *Iriſh* Cattle; which would have been complained of in former times, if it had been found a prejudice to *England*. Beſides, the Rents have been far from encreaſing ſince, and though that may be by other accidents, yet as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unleſs Wooll be forbidden as well as Cattle; for the leſs Cattle comes over from thence, there comes the more Wooll, which goes as far as t'other towards beating down the price of Paſture-lands in *England*; and yet the Tranſportation of Wooll cannot be forbidden, ſince that would force the *Iriſh* Wooll

Wooll either by ſtealth into foreign Markets, or elſe in Cloth by the advance of that Manufacture; either of which would bring a ſudden decay upon the principal Branch of the *Engliſh* Trade.

Horſes in *Ireland* are a Drug, but might be improved to a Commodity, not only of greater uſe at home, but alſo fit for Exportation into other Countries. The Soil is of a ſweet and plentiful Graſs, which will raiſe a large breed; and the Hills, eſpecially near the Sea-coaſts, are hard and rough, and ſo fit to give them Shape and Breath, and ſound Feet. The preſent defects in them, are breeding without choice of Stallions either in Shape or Size, and truſting ſo far to the gentleneſs of the Climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling Colts till they are four years old: This both checks the growth of the common breeds, and gives them an incurable ſhyneſs, which is the general vice of *Iriſh* Horſes, and is hardly ever ſeen in *Flanders*, becauſe the hardneſs of the Winters in thoſe Parts forces the Breeders there to houſe and handle their Colts for at

leaſt ſix Months every Year. In the Studs of Perſons of quality in *Ireland*, where care is taken, and coſt is not ſpared, we ſee Horſes bred of excellent ſhape, and vigour, and ſize, ſo as to reach great prices at home, and encourage Strangers to find the Market here; among whome I met with one this Summer that came over on that Errand, and bought about twenty Horſes to carry over into the *French* Army, from twenty to threeſcore Pounds price at the firſt hand.

The improvement of Horſes here may be made by a Standard preſcribed to all Stalions, and all Horſes that ſhall be uſed for draught; the main Point being to make the common Breed large, for then whether they have ſhape or no, they have ever ſome reaſonable price both at home and abroad. And beſides, being not to be raiſed without wintering, they will help to force Men into improvement of Land by a neceſſity of Fodder. But for incouragement of finer Breed, and in the better Hands, ſome other Inſtitutions may be invented, by which emulation may be raiſed among the Breeders by a proſpect

ſpect both of particular Honour and Profit to thoſe who ſucceed beſt, and of good ordinary gains and ready vent to ſuch as by aiming at the beſt, though they fail, yet go beyond the common ſorts. To this purpoſe there may be ſet up both a Horſe-Fair, and Races to be held at a certain time every Year for the ſpace of a Week; the firſt in the faireſt Green near the City of *Dublin*, the latter in that place deſigned by your Lordſhip in the Park for ſome ſuch purpoſe. During this Week, the *Monday*, *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, may be the Races; the *Tueſday*, *Thurſday*, and *Saturday*, the Fairs may be held. At each Race may be two Plates given by the King, one of Thirty Pounds, and the other of Twenty (beſides the faſhion) as the Prizes for the firſt and ſecond Horſe; the firſt Engraven with a Horſe Crowned with a Crown; the ſecond with a Coronet, and under it the day of the Month, and the year. Beſides theſe Plates, the Wagers may be as the Perſons pleaſe among themſelves, but the Horſes muſt be evidenced by good Teſtimonies to have been bred in *Ireland*. For honour, the

Lord Lieutenant may ever be preſent himſelf, or at leaſt name a Deputy in his room, and two Judges of the Field, who ſhall decide all Controverſies, and with ſound of the Trumpet declare the two Victors. The Maſters of theſe two Horſes may be admitted to ride from the Field to the Caſtle with the Lord Lieutenant, or his Deputy, and to Dine with him that Day, and there receive all the honour of the Table. This to be done, what quality ſoever the Perſons are of: for the lower that is, the more will be the Honour; and perhaps the more the ſport: and the encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all ſorts of Men.

For the Fairs, the Lord Lieutenant may likewiſe be preſent every day in the heighth of them, by himſelf or Deputy, and may with the advice of the two chief Officers of the Army then preſent, chooſe out one of the beſt Horſes, and two of the beſt Geldings that appear in the Fair, not under four, nor above ſeven years old. For which ſhall be paid to the owners of them, after ſufficient Teſtimony of their being

ing bred in *Ireland*, One hundred pounds for the Horſe, and fifty pounds a piece for the Geldings. Theſe Sums, as that for the Plates, to iſſue out of the Revenue of *Ireland*, and without trouble or fee; and the three Horſes to be ſent over every year to the King's Stables. Both thoſe that won the Plate, and thoſe which are thus ſold, ought immediately to be marked, ſo as they may never return a ſecond time, either to the Race, or to the Sale.

The benefit by ſuch an Inſtitution as this, will be very great and various: For beſides the encouragement to breed the beſt Horſes, from the honour and gain already mentioned, there will be a ſort of publick entertainment for one whole Week, during which the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the City, and the great Officers both Civil and Military, ought to keep open Tables for all ſtrangers. This will draw a confluence of People from all parts of the Country. Many perhaps from the nearer Parts of *England* many come, not only as to a publick kind of ſolemnity, but as to a great Mart of the beſt Horſes. This

will inrich the City by the expence of ſuch a concourſe, and the Country by the ſale of many Horſes into *England*, and in time (or from thence) into foreign Parts. This will make general Acquaintances among the Gentry of the Kingdom, and bring the Lord Lieutenant to be more perſonally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more greatneſs, and with more ſolemnity than uſual upon theſe Occaſions. And all this with expence only of Two hundred and fifty Pounds a year to the Crown, for which the King ſhall have three the beſt Horſes ſold that year in *Ireland*.

The Fiſhing of *Ireland* might prove a Mine under Water, as rich as any under Ground, if it were improved to thoſe vaſt advantages it is capable of, and that we ſee it raiſed to in other Countries. But this is impoſſible under ſo great a want of People, and cheapneſs of all things neceſſary to Life throughout the Country, which are in all Places invincible Enemies of induſtry and improvements. While theſe continue, I know no way of advancing

cing this Trade to any conſiderable degree, unleſs it be the erecting four Companies of Fiſhery, one of each Province of *Ireland*, into which every Man that enters, ſhall bring a certain Capital, and receive a proportionable ſhare of the gain or loſs, and have a proportional Voice in the Election of a Preſident and Council, by whom the whole buſineſs is in each Province ſhall be managed. If into each of theſe Companies the King or Lord Lieutenant would enter for a conſiderable ſhare at the firſt, towards building ſuch a number of Boats and Buſſes as each Company could eaſily manage, it would be an encouragement both of honour and advantage. Certain Privileges likewiſe, or Immunities, might be granted from charges of trouble or expence, nay from Taxes, and all unuſual Payments to the Publick, in favour of ſuch as brought in a proportion to a certain heighth into the Stock of the Fiſhery. Nay, it ſeems a Matter of ſo great importance to His Majeſties Crowns, both as to the improving the Riches of this Kingdom, and impairing the mighty Gains of his Neighbours

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by this Trade, that perhaps there were no hurt if an Act were made, by which none ſhould be capable of being either choſen into a Parliament, or the Commiſſion of the Peace, who had not manifeſted his deſires of advancing the publick good by entring in ſome certain proportion into the Stock and Companies of the Fiſhery; ſince the greatneſs of the one, and application of the other, ſeem the only preſent means of improving ſo rich and ſo important a Trade. It will afterwards be the buſineſs of the Companies themſelves, or their directors, to fall into the beſt Methods and Rules for the curing and barrelling up all their Fiſh, and to ſee them ſo exactly obſerved, as may bring all thoſe quantities of them that ſhall be ſent abroad, or ſpent at home, into the higheſt and moſt general credit; which with advancing the Seaſons all that can be, ſo as to find the firſt foreign Markets, will be a way to the greateſt and ſureſt Gains. In *Holland* there have been above thirty Placaets or Acts of State concerning the curing, ſalting, and barrelling of Herrings alone, with ſuch

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ſeverity in the Impoſition and execution of Penalties, that the buſineſs is now grown to an habitual skill, and care, and honeſty, ſo as hardly any Example is ſeen of failing in that Matter, or thereby impairing the general Credit of that Commodity among them, or in the foreign Markets they uſe.

Iron ſeems to me the Manufacture that of all others ought the leaſt to be encouraged in *Ireland*; or if it be, which requires the moſt reſtriction to certain Places and Rules. For I do not remember to have heard that there is any Oar in *Ireland*, at leaſt I am ſure the greateſt part is fetched from *England*; ſo that all this Country affords of its own growth towards this Manufacture, is but the Wood, which has met but with too great Conſumptions already in moſt parts of this Kingdom, and needs not this to deſtroy what is left. So that Iron-works ought to be confined to certain Places, where either the Woods continue vaſt, and make the Country ſavage; or where they are not at all fit for Timber, or likely to grow to it; or where there is no conveyance

veyance for Timber to places of vent ſo as to quit the coſt of the carriage.

Having run through the Commodities of *Ireland*, with their defects and improvements, I will only touch the other two Points mentioned at firſt, as the grounds likewiſe of Trade in a Country; thoſe are the commodiouſneſs of Ports, and the ſtore of Shipping; in one of which this Kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The Haven of *Dublin* is barr'd to that degree, as very much to obſtruct the Trade of the City; the clearing or opening of it were a great work, and proper either for the City, or the whole Province of *Lemſter* to undertake. But whether it be feaſible, or at ſuch charges as will quit coſt I will not judge, eſpecially conſidering the many good Havens that are ſcattered upon that whole Eaſtern Coaſt of *Ireland*. Beſides this, I know not what to propoſe upon this Head, unleſs it be the making of two free Ports, one in *Kerry*, and t'other upon the North-weſt Coaſt, which may thereby grow to be Magazines for the *Weſt-Indy* Trade, and from thence thoſe Commodities

dities may be diſperced unto all other Parts of *Europe*, after having paid the Cuſtomes which they ought to pay in *England*, where this muſt be concerted.

For the laſt Point, I doubt there is hardly any other Country lying upon the Sea-coaſt, and not wholly out of the way of Trade, which has ſo little Shipping of its own as *Ireland*, and which migtht be capable of imploying more. The reaſon of this muſt be in part the ſcarcity of Timber proper for this built; but more, the want of Merchants, and uncertainty of Trade in the Country. For preventing the further deſtruction of Timber, a Law may be made, forbidding any Man to cut down any Oak that is of a certain heighth, unleſs it be of a certain ſcantling, as twelve Inches diamiter, or ſome ſuch meaſure as uſually makes a Tree uſeful Timber. and further, the ſevereſt Penalties ought to be put upon Barking any Tree that is not felled; a cuſtom barbarous, and peculiar to this Country, and by which infinite quantities of Timber have been deſtroyed.

Moſt Traders in theſe Parts, at leaſt

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of *Ireland*, are but Factors; nor do I hear of any number of Merchants in the Kingdom. The cauſe of this muſt be rather an ill opinion of ſecurity, than of gain; for thoſe are the two baits which draw Merchants to a Place: the laſt intices the poorer Traders, or the young beginners, or thoſe of paſſage; but without the firſt, the ſubſtantial and the rich will never ſettle in a Country. This opinion can be attained only by a courſe of Time, of good Conduct, and good government, and thereby of Juſtice and of peace, which lie out of the compaſs of this Diſcourſe. But to make ſome amends for this want at preſent, encouragement may be given to any Merchants that ſhall come over and turn a certain Stock of their own here, as Naturalization upon any Terms; freedom from Cuſtoms the two firſt years, and from any Offices of trouble or expence the firſt ſeven years. I ſee no hurt if the King ſhould give leave to the Merchants in eight or ten of the chief Trading-Ports of *Ireland*, to name for each Town one of their number, out of which the Lord Lieutenant ſhould chuſe two to be of the Privy-Council

Council of *Ireland*, with a certain Salary from the King to defray their attendance: This would be an honour and encouragement to ſo worthy a Calling, and would introduce an intereſt of Trade into the Council, which being now compoſed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the Civil or Military Officers; the Traders ſeem to be left without Patrons in the Government, and thereby without favour to the particular concernments of a chief Member in the Politick Body; and upon whoſe proſpering the Wealth of the whole Kingdom ſeems chiefly to depend.

But this is enough for your Eccellencies trouble, and for the diſcharge of my promiſe, and too much I doubt for the humour of our Age to bring into practice, or ſo much as to admit into conſideration. Your Lordſhip I know has generous Thoughts, aud turned to ſuch Speculations as theſe. But that is not enough towards the raiſing ſuch buildings as I have drawn you here the Lines of, unleſs the direction of all Affairs here were wholly in your Hands, or at leaſt the Opinion loſt of other

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Mens being able to conteſt with you thoſe Points of publick utility, which you ought beſt to know, and moſt to be believed in, while you deſerve or diſcharge ſo great a Truſt as the Government of this Kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much conſider whom to chooſe for ſuch imployments; but when he has choſen, cannot truſt them too far, or thereby give them too much Authority; no more than end it too ſoon, whenever he finds it abuſed. In ſhort, 'tis left only to Princes to mend the World, whoſe Commands, find general obedience; and Examples imitation. For all other Men, they muſt take it as they find it; and good Men enter into commerce with it, rather upon cautions of not being ſpoil'd themſelves, than upon hopes of mending the World. At leaſt, this opinion becomes Men of my level, amongſt whom I have obſerved all ſet-quarrels with the Age, and pretences of reforming it by their own Models, to end commonly like the pains of a Man in a little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that's faſt to a Ship; it looks as if he reſolved to draw the Ship to him, but the

the truth and his meaning is, to draw himſelf to the Ship, where he gets in when he can, and does like the reſt of the Crew when he is there. When I have ſuch Deſigns, I will begin ſuch Contentions; in the mean time the bent of my Thoughts ſhall be rather to mend my ſelf, than the World, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor ſhould I have reaſon in complaining too far of an Age, which does your Lordſhip ſo much Juſtice, by the Honour of ſo great an Imployment. In which as I know no Man deſerves greater Succeſſes than you do, ſo I am ſure no Man wiſhes you greater than I do.

Written to the

DUKE of ORMOND,

In October, 1673.

Upon His Graces desiring me to give Him my opinion what was to be done in that Conjuncture.

THere never was any Conjuncture wherein it was more neceſſary for His Majeſty to fall into a Courſe of wiſe and ſteady Counſels, nor ever any wherein it was more difficult to adviſe him. To make Reflections upon what is paſt, is the part of ingenious, but irreſolute Men, or elſe of ſuch as intend to value themſelves by compariſon with others whoſe Corruptions or Follies they condemn. But in all Matters of Counſel, the good and prudent

prodent part is to take things as they are (ſince the paſt cannot be recalled), to propoſe Remedies for the preſent Evils, and Proviſions againſt future Events.

The King finds himſelf engaged in the ſecond Year of a War with the *Dutch*, and for proſecution thereof in a ſtrict Alliance with *France*; and now in danger of being entangled in the Quarrel broken out upon this occaſion between *France* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In this State of Affairs, it is to be conſidered whether we can purſue our War with *Holland*, and yet preſerve our Peace with *Spain*; whether we are able to maintain the War with both in conjunction with *France*; and if not, what there is left for His Majeſty to do, with the beſt regard to His Honour and Safety.

For the firſt, we ſhall ſoon be out of doubt; but in the mean time 'tis very unlikely that upon the late Conjunction between *Holland* and *Spain*, the *Dutch* ſhould have obliged themſelves to make no Peace without the incluſion of their Allies; and that

Spain ſhould not have yielded to break with Us, in caſe they could not effect a Peace between Us and *Holland*; ſince the *Dutch* know nothing could farther induce us to it, than the fear of a Breach with *Spain*, and ſo great a loſs of Trade in thoſe Dominions. The *Spaniards* have but one temptation of their own to quarrel with Us, which is an occaſion of recovering *Jamaica*; for that has ever lien at their Hearts, and 'tis to be feared their Conjunction with *Holland* has not been perfected without early Meaſures between them for the ſurpriſe of that Iſland, unleſs our Care has been as early in providing for its defence. And if we ſhould loſe it, I foreſee little hurt we could do *Spain* in their *Indies*, guarded as they would be and attended by the Shipping of the *Dutch*. But His Majeſty will, I ſuppoſe, ſoon know from *Spain* what He is to truſt to in this point.

To judge whether upon a Breach with *Spain* we are able to maintain the War, muſt be conſidered, the preſent State of the King's Treaſure, the riſe or fall that may happen in his conſtant Revenue

Revenue by the *Spaniſh* War, the Hopes that may be grounded upon Supplies from *France*, the aſſurance or meaſure of thoſe expected from the Parliament, the Credit of the Exchequer to raiſe preſent Money where-ever any of theſe fall ſhort, and the Humour of the Nation towards carrying on or ending the War.

For the preſent State of the Treaſury, the King beſt knows it Himſelf, or His Officers can beſt give the Account; for the Changes that may happen in his Revenue, 'tis evident they muſt be much for the worſe the very firſt year of a *Spaniſh* War. The main Branch of it, which is the Cuſtoms, muſt wither away in a very great meaſure, ſince all the Trade in a manner left us upon the *Dutch* War (that has turned to any account) has been that with *Spain* and into the *Streights*: the firſt upon a *Spaniſh* War will be wholly loſt; the laſt can neither be ſecured by our own Convoys, nor by the *French* Fleets in the *Mediterranean*, from the *Dutch* Capers that will fill the *Spaniſh* Havens, and from thoſe of *Biſcay*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*,

jorca, which in all Wars have been the Nests of Picaroons; so that no way seems left of beginning this War, but as the *Dutch* began theirs, by leaving off all Trade in the Nation while it lasts. But the Case is very different between them and us; for they have still a Trade left from the *North*, which running upon a sandy Coast from *Hamborough*, is secured from our Fleets: and they have driven a great Commerce by Collusion with the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Bremeners*, and *Flemish*, ever since the War began. Besides the Hearts of their People (which would otherwise have sunk by the loss of Trade) have been kept up by the necessity of their defence, by the last extremities which were threatned them from the War, and by the general opinion of Justice in their Cause, both from these Circumstances, and the manner of ours and of the *French* beginning the War.

This makes the States content to impose, and the People to suffer the utmost Payments; and besides, in a manner all Men of Fortunes among them have a great part of their Estates lying

lying in the Cantores of the States or the Provinces, which would all be loſt upon the Conqueſt of their Country, ſo as they will lend to the laſt for ſecuring ſo much as is already in danger. And theſe are Circumſtances which will not be found in our Diſpoſitions or Conſtitutions.

For Supplies from *France*, it muſt be conſidered how their Money has been drained out of the Kingdom ſince this War began, by their Payments to Us, and to *Sweden*, to the Biſhops of *Colen* and *Munſter*, and ſome other Princes of *Germany*; by their Armies in *Germany*, and the new Conqueſts in *Holland*; all which returns no more into *France*, as money did in their former Wars with *Spain*, that were made chiefly upon their Confines; for then the Pays of their Armies being made only in the Winter-quarters, which were in *France* or its Frontiers, the Money fell back again into the Circulation of their own Country; yet now their Expence muſt upon a *Spaniſh* War be increaſed by new Armies in *Catalonia* and *Italy*, and new Fleets in the *Mediterranean*; ſo that all theſe Circumſtances with the

general decay of Trade by the War, muſt in few years time leave that Kingdom poorer than it has been this Age, And where Money is not the King of *France* himſelf cannot have it.

For what ſupplies may come from the Parliament towards carrying on the War, ſome few days I ſuppoſe will inform us; and no Meaſures can be taken unleſs by what paſt in the former Seſſion, which was not very favourable to that Deſign.

For the Credit of the Exchequer (at leaſt to any meaſure that may ſupply the Courſe of Neceſſities of a War) I fear it is irrecoverably loſt by the laſt Breach with the Bankers; for Credit is gained by Cuſtom and Courſe of Time, and ſeldom recovers a Strain; but if broken, is never well ſet again. I have heard a great example given of this (by ſome of our Merchants) that happened upon the laſt King's ſeizing 200000 *l.* that was in the Mint about the Year 38, which had then the Credit of a Bank, and for ſeveral Years had been the Treaſury of all the vaſt Payments tranſmitted from *Spain* to *Flanders*. But after this Invaſion of it, though

though the King paid back the Money within very few Months, yet the Mint has never ſince recovered its Credit among Foreign Merchants.

If the Buſineſs of Money ſhould happen to go lame upon any or all of theſe Feet, then all that will be left to carry on the War is the Humour of the Nation: And that ſometimes may go farther than any Treaſures, if ſpirited by Hatred or Revenge, by the love of Religion or Liberty, or the neceſſity of Defence: But the good will of the Nation to the preſent War (as it was foreſeen by thoſe who gave the deſperate Counſels of beginning it with the Proroguing of the Parliament, and ſtopping of the Exchequer; ſo it) has been ſince but too much experienced by the Succeſſes have attended it, which will ever depend upon the Humours and Opinions of thoſe that ſerve, as well as the Abilities and Conduct of thoſe that command; and not to ſpeak of thoſe incurable Jealouſies which have been ſo generally raiſed or infuſed into the People about the firſt Deſigns of this War, and ſo much encreaſed by the profeſſions or actions, or at leaſt the

the general Reputation of those who pass for the chief Authors of it: 'Tis at least observable, that after so long Hostility, and four Battels, yet the Nation does not seem at all to be angry though that is the first thing should be brought about, if we would have Men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a Breach with *Spain* should make us any kinder to the War than we were before; since that must grow wholly upon occasion of the *French*, we having no Quarrel there of our own. And our Kindness to *France* will spirit us as little as our hatred to *Spain*, at least till their Fortunes change, and the Balance rise again on the *Spanish* side, which has risen so long and to such a heighth on the *French*; for by the course of human Nature there will ever be a degree of Hatred mingled with Fear, and of Kindness with Compassion.

Upon the survey of these Provisions and dispositions, it must be concluded necessary for His Majesty either to make a Peace, or else to turn the War directly upon such points of Honour,

Justice,

Juſtice and ſafety, as may ingage both the Parliament and Nation in the ſupport and proſecution of the War. And to do this, He muſt at leaſt offer at a peace, and upon terms into which the humour and ſpirit of the Nation will run.

The Conjunction now perfected between *Holland* aud *Spain* ſeems the happieſt thing that could have arrived to His Majeſty's affairs upon this Occaſion: for whilſt *Holland* ſtood alone, in caſe we had been forced to offer at any meaſures with them, *France* might upon the firſt jealouſie have been before Us, and ſlipping one knot might have tyed another in three days time. But now the intereſts of the *Empire*, *Spain* and *Lorrain*, are woven together with thoſe of *Holland*, it will not be a ſhort and eaſie work to adjuſt thoſe of *France* with the Emperor in the matters of *Alſatia*, with *Spain* in *Flanders*, or the Duke of *Lorrain* in that *Dutchy*; nor is the Conjunction between *Holland* and their Allies likely to be broken, unleſs by the revolutions of War the *Dutch* come to apprehend a nearer and greater danger from *Spain*,

in

in which caſe they will not fail of returning to their old meaſures with *France*.

The firſt Pace which ſeems neceſſary for His Majeſty to make, is to fall into Confidence with *Spain* as far as poſſible he can, by aſſuring them he reſolves upon a neutrality in the War between them and *France*; that if he comes to a peace with *Holland*, he intends it ſhall paſs by their Mediation; and if that be effected, ye will imploy his own towards the general Peace of Chriſtendom, and particularly that between *France* and *Spain*.

The next point is to reſolve upon the Conditions neceſſary to a Peace; The beſt way to this is to ſeek without paſſion where the juſtice lies, and the true intereſts of His Majeſty's Crowns, as it is generally underſtood by his People, of which the ſence of his Parliament is the beſt Teſtimony; for their concurrence will give weight to His demands of Peace, or to the ſupport of a War.

Between Us and *Holland* the Points of Juſtice muſt be grounded upon the infraction of Treaties, and ſo will reach

reach only to the buſineſs of the Flag and of *Surinam*. For the Flag, it has been agreed by three ſeveral Treaties in the ſame form; but the Articles ſtill referring to former uſe, it remains to diſcuſs and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the manner and circumſtances of obſerving it. Without this, no peace we can have will ſeem to be made with intentions to keep it Long, while the interpretation of that Article about the Flag is a ground at pleaſure for opening a War. And this point can only be gained by a ſeparate Peace between Us and *Holland*; for if the War ſhould come to end in a general treaty, like that of *Munſter*; As his Majeſty's intereſt would be leſs conſidered in a croud of ſo many others, and would hardly be ſuffered to obſtruct a general Peace; ſo this Right of the Flag in particular, would be at leaſt disfavoured, if not oppoſed by our Friends as as well as our Enemies, that is by *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*.

The buſineſs of *Surinam* is a trifle, and the diſputes upon it aroſe rather from

from an unkind and jealous humour growing between the Nations, than from any difference, or difficulty in adjuſting it; ſo as that is not a thing will lie much in the way, being ſoon decided by plain Articles upon the ſurrender of the Place.

There are two points more wherein the honour and intereſt of the Nation is concerned, and ought to be inſiſted upon, ſo far at leaſt as to find a temper in them, though they can hardly be ſaid to be points of Juſtice, becauſe they are not regulated by treaties. The firſt is the point of the *Eaſt-India* trade, wherein we deſire new agreements between us, upon ſuſpicion of what may happen, rather than complain of any Breach in the old; and though our *Eaſt-Indy* company never urged their deſires as a juſt ground for a Quarrel, yet a great deal might have been gained in this point from the *Dutch*, while they depended upon our Alliance; and I ſuppoſe may be ſtill, if we fall into it again.

The ſecond is an acknowledgment to His Majeſty for the leave of fiſhing upon his Coaſts; and though this may not

not be grounded upon any treaty, yet if it appear to have been an ancient right on our ſide, and cuſtom on theirs, and not determined or extinguiſhed by any Treaty between us, it may with Juſtice be inſiſted on; though it will paſs harder with the *Dutch* than any of the reſt, who will much eaſier be induced to buy off the pretence with a great ſum of Money at one or more payments, than acknowledge it by a conſtant tribute.

The laſt thing His Majeſty can demand from *Holland*, is Money for the charges of the War. But unleſs the Juſtice or neceſſity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak Ground. And if we expect Money, it muſt be to purchaſe what is to come, and not to pay for what is paſt: and it is very probable, that if His Majeſty ſhould reſolve with a peace of *Holland* to enter into a Mediation between *France* and *Spain* upon the evident points of Juſtice between them, and to joyn againſt that Crown which refuſes the Peace, both *Spain* and *Holland* would be content to part with their Money upon ſuch an agree-

ment

ment. But the measure and manner must be left to private Treaty, and would depend upon the confidence between us.

Whatever in any of these points, or any other His Majesty should be content to release, ought to be done upon the satisfaction He should declare to have received in the advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Charges of his Ancestors. But for his Majesty to insist upon any further advantages to the Prince than are already devolved upon him, would not only raise invincible difficulties in our Treaty with the States, but prejudice the Princes affairs among them in a very great measure. And the Prince I believe knows their Constitution so well, as to understand it so.

If upon good terms in these particulars a Peace can be effected with *Holland*, the honour of this Crown will certainly be provided for, and the interest of it to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the events of the War; since we should be left in Peace to enjoy the Trade of the world, while the house of *Austria* and

and *Holland* would be ingaged in a long War with *France*; and whenever they grow weary, His Majeſty would have the glory and advantage of mediating the Peace.

For the meaſures to be obſerved in all this with *France*; and the preſerving His Majeſty's Honour on that ſide, Firſt, the humour of the Parliament as to this War, and the Intereſt of the Nation in the Trade with *Spain*, ought to be repreſented to them as difficulties invincible, unleſs *France* can furniſh the charge which the War will coſt beyond what can be ſpared out of His Majeſty's conſtant Revenue. Then his Majeſty may propoſe to them His deſign of Neutrality between them and *Spain*; which I ſuppoſe was not a Point that entred into any Agreements againſt *Holland*. And laſtly, He may deſire their conſent, ſince he cannot proſecute the War, to make his Peace with *Holland*, upon the aſſurance of imploying afterwards his Mediation between them and *Spain*, in which the concurrence of His Parliament will make him able to effect a Peace, as the want of it has made Him unable to purſue the

War. If *France* will not conſent either to furniſh us with Money ſufficient to carry on the War, nor to our Neutrality with *Spain*, nor peace with *Holland*; it would then be conſidered whether *France* in the like caſe would ſuffer ſuch a Conjuncture as this to eſcape them upon any Ties or Treaties between us: or whether indeed any Prince or State would do ſo. A Conjuncture whereby the Honour and Intereſt of His Majeſty's Crowns may be provided for; the Trade of the Nation raiſed to a highth it has not reached before; the paſſionate bent and humour of the People pleaſed, and their jealouſies in a great meaſure allayed; the true Balance of Chriſtendom maintained, all the Princes and States of it (beſides *France* alone) ſatisfied; and in ſhort, by which His Majeſty may grow again inſenſibly into the Hearts of his People at home, and into the influence upon all Affairs of his Neighbours abroad.

It is a rude thing which is commonly ſaid, that we may come off from *France* with as much Honour as we came on. But it is a true thing, that he

he has always the honour of the War, that has the advantage of it; and 'tis I doubt ſo of a Peace too; and that cannot fail us here, provided we make ſure of *Spain* (in caſe we apprehend our loſing of *France*) to which their Diſpoſitions and intereſts muſt certainly concur with ours in all Points, unleſs that of *Jamaica* make an exception.

All the difficulty His Majeſty can meet with in this purſuit, will be ſome want of reputation and truſt with the Government of *Spain* and *Holland*, which have been foyled of late by the breach of our former Alliances, ſo much (as they think) againſt our own intereſts as well as theirs; for all Treaties are grounded upon the common belief, That every State will be ever found in their own intereſts, among which their Honour and obſervance of Faith grows to be one very conſiderable (Becauſe while the Minds of Men are generally poſſeſt with a belief of God Almighty's concerning Himſelf in Affairs here below, the Opinion of Juſtice or Injuſtice in a Quarrel will never fail of having mighty effect up-

on the ſucceſſes of a War): therefore our reputation cannot any way be ſo far recovered with our Neighbours, as by their finding that His Majeſty's Councels return into the true intereſts of His Kingdoms; which will make the *Spaniards* believe our Meaſures may be firm with them, upon the ſame reaſon which has ſhaken them with *France*. Thus much is certain, that whatever means will reſtore, or raiſe the Credit of His Majeſty's Government at home, will do it abroad too: For a King of *England* at the head of his Parliament and People, and in their Hearts and Intereſts, can never fail of making what Figure he pleaſes in the World, nor of being ſafe and eaſie at home; and may deſpiſe all the deſigns of factious Men, who can only make themſelves conſidered by ſeeming to be in the Intereſt of the Nation, when the Court ſeems to be out of it. But in running on Councels contrary to the general humour and ſpirit of the People, the King indeed may make His Miniſters great Subjects, but they can never make Him a great Prince.

TO

Shene, *Jan.* 29. 1674.

TO THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX, UPON

Her Grief occaſioned by the loſs of Her only Daughter.

THE Honour I received by a Letter from your Ladiſhip. was too great and too ſenſible not to be acknowledged; but yet I doubted whether that occaſion could bear me out in the confidence of giving your Ladiſhip any further troubles of this kind, without as

good an Errand as my laſt. This I have reckon'd upon a good while by another viſit my Siſter and I had deſigned to my Lord *Capell.* How we came to have defer'd it ſo long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this diſtance, though we make our ſelves believe it could not be helpt. Your Ladiſhip at leaſt has had the advantage of being thereby excuſed ſome time from this trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the ſenſible Wounds that have ſo often of late been given your Friends here by ſuch deſperate Expreſſions in ſeveral of your Letters concerning your Humour, your Health, and your Life; in all which, if they are your Friends, you muſt allow them to be extreamly concerned. Perhaps none can be at Heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladiſhip, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occaſion, how unjuſt and unkind ſoever you are to your ſelf. But when you go about to throw away your Health, or your Life, ſo great a remainder of your own Family, and ſo great hopes of that into which you are enter'd, and all by a

deſperate

deſperate melancholy, upon an accident paſt remedy, and to which all mortal Race is perpetually ſubject; For God's ſake, Madam, give me leave to tell you, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with ſo good a Chriſtian, or ſo reaſonable and ſo great a Perſon as your Ladiſhip appears to the World in all other Lights.

I know no duty in Religion more generally agreed on, nor more juſtly required by God Almighty, than a perfect ſubmiſſion to His will in all things; nor do I think any diſpoſition of Mind can either pleaſe Him more, or become us better, than that of being ſatisfied with all He gives, and contented with all he takes away. None I am ſure can be of more Honour to God, nor of more eaſe to our ſelves: for if we conſider him as our Maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our Father, we ought not to diſtruſt him; So that we may be confident, whatever He does is intended for our good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwiſe, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor ſave any thing by reſiſting.

But if it were fit for us to reaſon with God Almighty, and your Ladiſhips loſs be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive; Yet I doubt, you would have but ill grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do: for the firſt motions of Paſſions, how violent ſoever may be pardoned; and it is only the courſe of them which makes them inexcuſable. In this World, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good, and whatever is called ſo, is but either comparatively with other things of its kind, or elſe with the evil that is mingled in its compoſition; ſo he is a good Man that is better than Men commonly are, or in whom the good Qualities are more than the bad; ſo in the courſe of Life, his condition is eſteemed good, which is better than that of moſt other Men, or wherein the good Circumſtances are more than the ill. By this meaſure, I doubt, Madam your complaints ought to be turned into acknowledgments, and your Friends would have cauſe to rejoice rather than condole with you: For the goods or Bleſſings of Life are uſually eſteemed to be Birth,

Health

Health, Beauty, Friends, Children, Honour, Riches. Now when your Ladyſhip has fairly conſidered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what He has given you of all theſe, you may be left to judge your ſelf how you have dealt with Him in your complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you, and conſider other Lives as well as your own, and what your Lot is in compariſon with thoſe that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge; If you think how few are born with Honour, how many die without Name or Children, how little Beauty we ſee, how few Friends we hear of, how many Diſeaſes, and how much Poverty there is in the World, you will fall down upon your Knees, and inſtead of repining at one Affliction, will admire ſo many Bleſſings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your Ladiſhip in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all theſe Points, would look like a deſign to flatter you: But this I may ſay, that we will pity you as much as you pleaſe, if you will tell us who they

they are that you think upon all Circumſtances you have reaſon to envy. Now if I had a Maſter that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either becauſe I uſed it ill, or gave my ſelf ſo much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the reſt of the world; Or perhaps becauſe he would ſhew his Power, and put me in Mind from whom I held all the reſt; would you think I had much reaſon to complain of hard uſage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away.

'Tis true you have loſt a Child, and therein all that could be loſt in a Child of that age; but you have kept one Child, and are likely to do ſo long; you have the aſſurance of another, and the hopes of many more. You have kept a Husband great in imployment, and in fortune, and (which is more) in the eſteem of good Men. You have kept your Beauty and your Health, unleſs you have deſtroyed them your ſelf, or diſcouraged them to ſtay with you by uſing them ill. You have Friends that are as kind to you as you

you can wiſh or as you can give them leave to be by their fears of loſing you, and being thereby ſo much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have Honour and Eſteem from all that know you; or if ever it fails in any degree, 'tis only upon that point of your ſeeming to be fallen out with God and the whole World, and neither to care for your ſelf, or any thing elſe, after what you have loſt.

You will ſay perhaps *that* one thing was all to you, and your fondneſs of it made you indifferent to every thing elſe. But this, I boubt, will be ſo far from juſtifying you, that it will prove to be your fault as well as your misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the Bleſſings of Life, and you ſet your Heart wholly upon one, and deſpiſe or undervalue all the reſt: Is this His fault or yours? Nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very ſcornful to the reſt of the World; Is it not to ſay, Becauſe you have loſt one thing God hath given you, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to ſay, S nce that one thing is gone out

of

of the World, there is nothing left in it which you think can deſerve your kindneſs or eſteem? A Friend makes me a Feaſt, and ſets all before me that his care or kindneſs could provide; but I ſet my heart upon one Diſh alone, and if that happen to be thrown down, I ſcorn all the reſt; and though he ſends for another of the ſame, yet I riſe from the Table in a rage, and ſay my Friend is my Enemy, and has done me the greateſt wrong in the world; Have I reaſon, Madam, or good grace in what I do? Or would it become me better to eat of the reſt that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the precepts of Chriſtianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our paſſions, to temper our Affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the poſſeſſion, and patient under the loſs when ever He that gave it ſhall ſee fit to take away. Your extream fondneſs was perhaps as diſpleaſing to God before, as now your extream affliction; and your loſs may have been a puniſhment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had.

'Tis

Tis at leaſt pious to aſcribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits rather that to injuſtice in God; and becomes us better to adore all the Iſſues of His Providence in the effects, than enquire into the Cauſes: For ſubmiſſion is the only way of reaſoning between a Creature and its Maker; and contentment in His will is the greateſt duty we can pretend to, and the beſt remedy we can apply to all our Misfortunes.

But, Madam, though Religion were no party in your Caſe, and that for ſo violent and injurious a Grief you had nothing to anſwer to God, but only to the World and your ſelf; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the World with us a poor needy uncertain Life, ſhort at the longeſt, and unquiet at the beſt; all the imaginations of the witty and the wiſe have been perpetually buſied to find out the ways how to revive it with Pleaſures, or relieve it with Diverſions; how to compoſe it with eaſe, and ſettle it with ſafety. To ſome of theſe ends have been imployed the Inſtitutions of Lawgivers, the

the reaſonings of Philoſophers, the inventions of Poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous Men. All the World is perpetually at work about nothing elſe, but only that our poor mortal Lives ſhould paſs the eaſier and happier for that little time we poſſeſs them, or elſe end the better when we loſe them. Upon this occaſion Riches came to be coveted Honours to be eſteemed, Friendſhip and Love to be purſued, and Vertues themſelves to be admired in the World. Now, Madam, is it not to bid defiance to all Mankind, to condemn their univerſal Opinions and deſigns, if inſtead of paſſing your Life as well and eaſily, you reſolve to paſs it as ill and as miſerably as you can? You grow inſenſible to the conveniences of Riches, the delights of Honour and Praiſe, the charms of Kindneſs or Friendſhip, nay to the obſervance or applauſe of Vertues themſelves; For who can you expect, in theſe exceſſes of Paſſion, will allow you to ſhew either Temperance or Fortitude, to be either Prudent or Juſt? And for your Friends, I ſuppoſe, you reckon upon loſing their kindneſs,

when

when you have ſufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of yours, ſince you have none left for your ſelf or any thing elſe. You declare upon all occaſions, you are incapable of receiving any comfort or pleaſure in any thing that is left in this World; and I aſſure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no hopes ever to pleaſe you.

Among the ſeveral inquiries and endeavours after the happineſs of Life, the ſenſual Men agree in purſuit of every Pleaſure they can ſtart, without regarding the pains of the chaſe, the wearineſs when it ends, or how little the quarry is worth. The buſie and ambitious fall into the more laſting purſuits of Power and Riches; The ſpeculative Men preferr Tranquility of Mind, before the different Motions of Paſſion and Appetite, or the common ſucceſſions of Deſire and Satiety, of Pleaſure and Pain: but this may ſeem too dull a Principle for the happineſs of Life, which is ever in motion; and Paſſions are perhaps the Stings, without which they ſay no Honey is made; yet I think all ſorts of Men

have

have ever agreed, they ought to be our Servants, and not our Maſters; to give us ſome agitation for entertainment or exerciſe, but never to throw our Reaſon out of its Seat. Perhaps I would not always ſit ſtill, or would be ſometimes on Horſe-back; but I would never ride a Horſe that galls my Fleſh, or ſhakes my Bones, or that runs away with me as he pleaſes, ſo as I can neither ſtop at a River or Precipice. Better no Paſſions at all, than have them too violent; or ſuch alone, as inſtead of hightning our Pleaſures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all ſuch loſſes as your Ladiſhip's has been, there is ſomething that common nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed; but all exceſſive and outrageous Grief or Lamentation for the Dead, was accounted among the ancient Chriſtians, to have ſomething of heatheniſh; and among the Civil Nations of old, to have ſomething of barbarous; and therefore it has been the care of the firſt to moderate it by their Precepts, and the latter to reſtrain it by their Laws. The longeſt time that has

has been allowed to the Forms of Mourning by the Cuſtom of any Country, and in any Relation, has been but that of a Year, in which ſpace the Body is commonly ſuppoſed to be mouldered away to Earth, and to retain no more Figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the loſs of Parents, of Husband, or Wife. On the other ſide, to Children under Age, nothing has been allowed; and I ſuppoſe with particular reaſon (the common Ground of all general Cuſtoms,) perhaps becauſe they die in innocence, and without having taſted the miſeries of Life, ſo as we are ſure they are well when they leave us, and eſcape much ill would in all appearance have befallen them if they had ſtaid longer with us. Beſides a Parent may have twenty Children, and ſo his mourning may run through all the beſt of his Life, if his Loſſes are frequent of that kind; and our kindneſs to Children ſo young, is taken to proceed from common Opinions, or fond Imaginations, not Friendſhip or Eſteem; and to be grounded upon Entertainment, rather than Uſe in the many Offices of Life:

Nor would it paſs from any Perſon beſides your Ladiſhip, to ſay you loſt a Companion and a Friend at Nine year old, though you loſt one indeed, who gave the faireſt hopes that could be of being both in time, and every thing elſe that was eſteemable and good: But yet, that it ſelf God only knows, conſidering the changes of Humour and Diſpoſition, which are as great as thoſe of Feature and Shape the firſt ſixteen Years of our Lives; conſidering the Chances of Time, the Infection of Company, the Snares of the World, and the Paſſions of Youth; ſo that the moſt excellent and agreeable Creature of that tender age, and that ſeemed born under the happieſt Stars, might by the Courſe of Years and Accidents, come to be the moſt miſerable her ſelf, and more trouble to her Friends by living long, than ſhe could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, Madam, I think your Loſs ſo great, and ſome meaſure of your Grief ſo deſerved, that would all your paſſionate Complaints, all the Anguiſh of your Heart do any thing to retrieve it; could Tears water the lovely Plant,

ſo

ſo as to make it grow again after once 'tis cut down; would Sighs furniſh new Breath, or could it draw Life and Spirits from the waſting of yours; I am ſure your Friends would be ſo far from accuſing your Paſſion, that they would encourage it as much, and ſhare it as deep as they could. But alas! the eternal Laws of the Creation extinguiſh all ſuch Hopes, forbid all ſuch Deſigns: Nature gives us many Children and Friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the exceſſes of Grief to have been ſo univerſally condemned as a thing unnatural, becauſe ſo much in vain; whereas Nature they ſay does nothing in vain: As a thing ſo unreaſonable, becauſe ſo contrary to our own Deſigns; for we all deſign to be well, and at eaſe, and by Grief we make our ſelves ill of imaginary Wounds, and raiſe our ſelves Troubles moſt properly out of the Duſt, whilſt our Ravings and Complaints, are but like Arrows ſhot up into the Air, at no Mark, and ſo to no purpoſe, but only to fall back upon our Heads, and deſtroy our ſelves, inſtead of recovering or revenging our Friends.

Perhaps, Madam, you will ſay, this is your Deſign, or if not, your Deſire; but I hope you are not yet ſo far gone, or ſo deſperately bent: Your Ladiſhip knows very well, your Life is not your own, but His that lent it you to manage, and preſerve the beſt you could, and not to throw it away, as if it came from ſome common Hand. It belongs in a great meaſure to your Country, and your Family; and therefore by all Human Laws, as well as Divine, Self-murder has ever been agreed on as the greateſt Crime, and is puniſht here with the utmoſt Shame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the Dead. But is the Crime much leſs to kill our ſelves by a ſlow Poiſon, than by a ſudden Wound? Now if we do it, and know we do it by a long and a continual Grief, can we think our ſelves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our Hearts or conſume them; if we pierce them, or bruiſe them; ſince all determines in the ſame Death, as all ariſes from the ſame Deſpair? But what if it goes not ſo far? 'Tis not indeed ſo bad as might be, but that does not excuſe it from being very

ry ill: Though I do not kill my Neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to ſpoil him of the Conveniences of Life? The greateſt Crime is for a Man to kill himſelf; is it a ſmall one to wound himſelf by anguiſh of Heart, by grief, or deſpair, to ruin his Health, to ſhorten his Age, to deprive himſelf of all the Pleaſures, or Eaſes, or Enjoyments of Life?

Next to the Miſcheifs we do our ſelves, are thoſe we do our Children, and our Friends, as thoſe who deſerve beſt of us, or at leaſt deſerve no ill. The Child you carry about you what has that done, that you ſhould endeavour to deprive it of Life, almoſt as ſoon as you beſtow it? Or if at the beſt you ſuffer it to live to be born, yet by your ill uſage of your ſelf, ſhould ſo much impair the ſtrength of its Body and Health, and perhaps the very Temper of its Mind, by giving it ſuch an infuſion of Melancholy, as may ſerve to diſcolour the Objects, and diſreliſh the Accidents it may meet with in the common train of Life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you ſay to another

you are? Were it a ſmall Injury to my Lord *Capel*, to deprive him of a Mother, from whoſe Prudence and Kindneſs he may juſtly expect the Cares of his Health and Education, the forming of his Body, and the cultivating of his Mind; the Seeds of Honour and Vertue, and thereby the true Principles of a happy Life; How has my Lord of *Eſſex* deſerved that you ſhould go about to loſe Him a Wife he loves with ſo much paſſion, and which is more, with ſo much reaſon; ſo great an Honour and Support to His Family, ſo great a Hope to his Fortune, and Comfort to His Life? Are there ſo many left of your own Great Family, that you ſhould deſire in a manner wholly to reduce it by ſuffering the greateſt and almoſt laſt Branch of it to wither away before its time? or is your Couutry in this Age ſo ſtoared with great Perſons, that you ſhould envy it thoſe we may juſtly expect from ſo Noble a Race?

Whilſt I had any hopes your Tears would eaſe you, or that your Grief would conſume it ſelf by Liberty and Time, your Ladiſhip knows very well I never once accuſed it, nor ever encreaſed

creaſed it, like many others, by the common formal ways of aſſwaging it; and this I am ſure is the firſt Office of this kind I ever went about to perform otherwiſe than in the moſt ordinary Forms. I was in hope what was ſo violent, could not be ſo long: but when I obſerved it to grow ſtronger with Age, and encreaſe like a Stream the further it run; when I ſaw it draw out to ſo much unhappy Conſequences, and threaten no leſs than your Child, your Health, and your Life; I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladiſhip for God's ſake, and for your own, for your Childrens and your Friends, for your Countries and your Families, that you would no longer abandon your ſelf to ſo diſconſolate a Paſſion, but that you would at length awaken your Piety, give way to your Prudence, or at leaſt rowſe up the invincible Spirit of the *Piercies*, that never yet ſhrunk at any Diſaſter; that you would ſometimes remember the great Honours and Fortunes of your Family, not always the Loſſes; cheriſh thoſe Veins of good Humour that are

ſometimes ſo natural to you, and ſear up thoſe of ill that would make you ſo unnatural to your Children, and to your ſelf: But above all, that you would enter upon the Cares of your Health, and your Life, for your Friends ſake at leaſt, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me ſo great an Honour and Satisfaction, as if your Ladiſhip would own me to have contributed towards this Cure; but however, none can perhaps more juſtly pretend to your pardon for the Attempt, ſince there is none, I am ſure, that has always had at heart a greater Honour for your Ladiſhips Family, nor can have for your Perſon more devotion and eſteem than,

Madam,

Your Ladiſhips moſt Obedient,

and moſt Humble Servant.

Nimeguen, June 18. 1677.

AN

ESSAY

Upon the CURE of the

GOUT

BY

MOXA.

Written to Monſieur de Zulichem.

I Never thought it would have befaln me to be the firſt that ſhould try a new Experiment, any more than to be Author of any new Invention; being little inclined to practiſe upon others,

others, and as little that others ſhould practiſe upon me. The ſame warmth of Head diſpoſes Men to both, though one be commonly eſteemed an Honour, and the other at Reproach. I a mſorry the firſt, and the worſe of the two, is fallen to my ſhare, by which all a Man can hope is to avoid Cenſure, and that is much harder than to gain Applauſe: For this may be done by one great or wiſe Action in an Age; but to avoid Cenſure a man muſt paſs his Life without ſaying or doing one ill or fooliſh thing.

This might ſerve the turn, if all Men were juſt; but as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that 'tis the idleſt Pretenſion in the World to live without it; the meaneſt Subjects cenſuring the Actions of the greateſt Prince; the ſillieſt Servants, of the wiſeſt Maſter; and young Children, of the oldeſt Parents. Therefore I have not troubled my ſelf to give any account of an Experiment I made by your perſwaſion, to ſatisfie thoſe who imputed it to Folly, Raſhneſs, or Impatience; but to ſatisfie you who propoſed the thing in kindneſs to me, and deſired the Relation

tion of it, in kindneſs to other men.

I confeſs your engaging me firſt in this Adventure of the *Moxa*, and deſiring the Story of it from me, is like giving one the Torture, and then asking his Confeſſion; which is hard uſage to an innocent Man and a Friend. Beſides, having ſuffered the firſt, I took my ſelf to have a right of refuſing the other. But I find your Authority with me is too great to be diſputed in either; and the pretence of publick good is a cheat that will ever paſs in the World, though ſo often abuſed by ill Men, that I wonder the good do not grow aſhamed to uſe it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you asked, and cannot but ſay that I have done, as well as ſuffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the Story with the more Circumſtance, becauſe many queſtioned the Diſeaſe, that they might not allow of the Cure; though the Certainty of one, and Force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two Returns ſince I left you at the *Hague*, which paſt with the ſame Succeſs, the Reaſonings upon this Method, which ſeem to confirm the Experiment,

riment, and other Remedies for the *Gout* here reflected on, are aimed at the ſame end for which you ſeemed ſo much to deſire this Relation. The Digreſſions I cannot excuſe otherwiſe, than by the confidence that no Man will read them, who has not at leaſt as much leiſure as I had when I writ them; and whoſoever diſlikes, or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For thoſe about Temperance, Age, or their Effects and Periods in reference to Publick Buſineſs, they could be better addreſt to none, than to you, who have paſt the longeſt Life with the moſt Temperance, and the beſt Health and Humour of any Man I know; and having run through ſo much great and Publick Buſineſs, have found out the Secret ſo little known, that there is a time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one piece of Merit in this Relation, which is to have writ it for you in *Engliſh*, being the Language I always obſerved to have moſt of your kindneſs among ſo many others of your Acquaintance. If your Partiality to that, and to me, and to your own Requeſt, will not excuſe

cauſe all the Faults of this Paper, I have nothing more to ſay for it, and ſo will leave you to judge of it as you pleaſe.

AMong all the Diſeaſes to which the Intemperance of this Age diſpoſes it (at leaſt in theſe Northern Climates), I have obſerved none to encreaſe ſo much within the compaſs of my Memory and Converſation, as the *Gout*, nor any I think of worſe conſequence to Mankind; becauſe it falls generally upon Perſons engaged in publick Affairs and great Imployments, upon whoſe thoughts and Cares (if not their Motions and their Pains) the Common Good and Service of their Country ſo much depends. The General Officers of Armies, the Governours of Provinces, the publick Miniſters in Counſels at home, and Embaſſies abroad (that have fallen in my way) being generally ſubject to it in one degree or other. I ſuppoſe the Reaſon of this may be, that Men ſeldom come into thoſe Poſts till after Forty Years old, about which time the natural Heat beginning to decay, makes

way

way for those distempers they are most inclined to by their Native Constitutions, or by their Customs and Habits of Life. Besides, Persons in those Posts are usually born of Families Noble and Rich, and so derive a Weakness of Constitution from the Ease and Luxury of their Ancestors, and the Delicacy of their own Education: Or if not, yet the Plenty of their Fortunes from those very imployments, and the general Custom of living in them at much expence, engages Men in the constant use of great Tables, and in frequent Excesses of several kinds, which must end in Diseases when the vigour of Youth is past, and the force of Exercise (that served before to spend the Humour) is given over for a sedentary and unactive Life.

These I take to be the reasons of such Persons being so generally subject to such Accidents more than other Men; and they are so plain, that they must needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill consequence of it is not so obvious, though perhaps as evident to Men that observe: and may be equally confirmed by Reasons and Examples.

It

It is that the vigour of the Mind decays with that of the Body, and not only Humour and Invention, but even Judgment and Reſolution, change and languiſh, with ill Conſtitution of Body, and of Health; and by this means Publick Buſineſs comes to ſuffer by Private Infirmities, and Kingdoms or States fall into Weakneſſes and Diſtempers, by the Diſeaſes or Decays of thoſe Perſons that manage them.

Within theſe Fifteen Years paſt, I have known a great Fleet diſabled for two Months, and thereby loſe great Occaſions, by an Indiſpoſition of the Admiral, while he was neither well enough to exerciſe, nor ill enough to leave the Command. I have known two Towns of the greateſt conſequence loſt contrary to all Forms, by the Governour's falling ill in the time of the Sieges.

I have obſerved the Fate of *Campania* determine contrary to all appearances, by the Caution and Conduct of a General, which were attributed by thoſe that knew him, to his Age and Infirmities, rather than his own true Qualities, acknowledged otherwiſe to have been

been as great as moſt Men of the Age. I have ſeen the Counſels of a Noble Country grow bold, or timorous, according to the Fits of his good or ill Health that managed them, and the Pulſe of the Government beat high or low with that of the Governour; and this unequal Conduct makes way for great Accidents in the World: Nay I have often reflected upon the Counſels and Fortunes of the greeteſt Monarchies riſing and decaying ſenſibly with the Ages and Healths of the Princes and chief Officers that governed them. And I remember one great Miniſter that confeſt to me, when he fell into one of his uſual Fits of the *Gout*, He was no longer able to bend his mind or thoughts to any Publick Buſineſs, nor give Audiences beyond two or three of his own Domeſticks, though it were to ſave a Kingdom; and that this proceeded not from any violence of Pain, but from a general languiſhing and faintneſs of Spirits, which made him in thoſe Fits think nothing worth the trouble of one careful or ſollicitous Thought. For the approaches or lurkings of the *Gout*, the *Spleen*, or the

Scurvy,

Scurvy, nay the very fumes of indigeſtion, may indiſpoſe Men to thought and to care, as well as Diſeaſes of danger and pain.

Thus accidents of Health grow to be accidents of State, and publick Conſtitutions come to depend in a great meaſure upon thoſe of particular Men; which makes it perhaps ſeem neceſſary in the choice of Perſons for great imployments (at leaſt ſuch as require conſtant application and pains) to conſider their Bodies as well as their Minds, and Ages and Health as well as their Abilities.

When I was younger than I am, and thereby a worſe judge of Age, I have often ſaid, that what great thing ſoever Man propoſed to do in his Life, He ſhould think of atchieving it by Fifty years old. Now I am approaching that age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no Man rides to an end of that Stage without feeling his journey in all Parts, whatever diſtinctions are made between the Mind and the Body, or between Judgment and Memory. And though I have known ſome few, who might per-

haps be of use in Counsel upon great Occasions, till after Threescore and ten; and have heard that the two late Ministers in *Spain*, Counts of *Castriglio* and *Pignoranda*, were so till fourscore; Yet I will not answer, that the very conduct of publick Affairs, under their Ministry has not always tasted of the Lees of their Age.

I observe in this Assembly at *Nimmegen*, from so many several Parts of *Christendom*, that of One and twenty Ambassadours, there are but three above Fifty years old; which seems an Argument, of my Opinion being in a manner general; Nor can I think the Period ill calculated, at least for a great General of Armies, or Minister of State, in times or scenes of great Action, when the care of a State or an Army ought to be as constant as the *Chymicks* Fire, to make any great Production; and if it goes out for an hour, perhaps the whole operation fails. Now I doubt whether any Man after Fifty be capable of such constant application of thought, any more than of long and violent labour or exercise, which that certainly is, and of the finest Parts.

Besides,

Beſides, none that feel ſenſibly the decays of Age, and his Life wearing off, can Figure to himſelf thoſe imaginary Charms in Riches and Praiſe, that Men are apt to do in the warmth of their Blood; and thoſe are the uſual Incentives towards the attempt of great dangers, and ſupport of great trouble and pains.

To confirm this by Examples, I have heard that Cardinal *Mazarine*, about Five and fifty, found it was time to give over: That the preſent Grand *Vizier*, who paſſes for one of the greateſt Men of that Empire, or this Age, began his Miniſtry about Twenty eight, and the greateſt I have obſerved, which was that of *Monſieur de Witt*, began at Three and thirty, and laſted to Forty eight, and could not, I believe, have gone on many years longer at that height, even without that fatal end. Among other qualities which enter'd into the compoſition of this Miniſter, the great care he had of his Health, and the little of his Life, were not, I think, the leaſt conſiderable; ſince from the firſt he derived his great Temperance, as well as his great Boldneſs and Con-

ſtancy from the other. And If intemperance be allowed to be the common Mother of *Gout*, or *Dropſie*, and of *Scurvy*, and moſt other lingring Diſeaſes, which are thoſe that infeſt the State; I think Temperance deſerves the firſt Rank among publick Vertues, as well as thoſe of private Men; and doubt whether any can pretend to the conſtant ſteddy exerciſe of prudence Juſtice, or Fortitude, without it.

Upon theſe Grounds whoever can propoſe a way of Curing, or Preventing the *Gout* (which enter'd chiefly into thoſe Examples I have mentioned of publick affairs ſuffering by private Indiſpoſitions) would perhaps do a ſervice to Princes and States, as well as to particular Men; which makes me the more willing to tell my Story, and talk out of my Trade, being ſtrongly poſſeſt with a belief, that what I have tried, or thought, or heard upon this ſubject, may go a great way in preventing the growth of this Diſeaſe where it is but new, though perhaps longer Methods are neceſſary to deal with it when 'tis old.

From my Grandfathers death I had reaſon

reaſon to apprehend the *Stone*, and from my Father's life the *Gout*, who has been for this many years, and ſtill continues much afflicted with it. The firſt apprehenſion has been, I confeſs, with me ever the ſtrongeſt, and the other hardly in my thoughts, having never deſerved it by the uſual Forms; Nor had I ever, I thank God, the leaſt threat from either of them, till the laſt year at the *Hague*, being then in the Seven and fortieth of my Age; when about the end of *February*, one night at Supper, I felt a ſudden pain in my right Foot, which from the firſt moment it began, encreaſed ſenſibly, and in an hours time to that degree, that though I ſaid nothing, yet others took notice of it in my Face, and ſaid, They were ſure I was not well, and would have had me go to Bed. I confeſt I was in pain, and thought it was with ſome ſprain at Tennis: I pulled off my Shooe, and with ſome eaſe that gave me, ſtir'd not till the Company broke up, which was about three hours after my pain began. I went away to Bed, but it raged ſo much all Night, that I could not ſleep a wink. I en-

dured it till about Eight next Morning in hopes ſtill of ſtealing ſome reſt; but then making my complaints, and ſhewing my Foot, they found it very red and angry; and to relieve my extremity of pain, began to apply common Poltices to it; and by the frequent change of them I found ſome eaſe, and continued this exerciſe all that day, and a great part of the following night, which I paſt with very little reſt. The morning after my Foot began to ſwell, and the violence of my Pain to aſſwage, though it left ſuch a ſoreneſs, that I could hardly ſuffer the Clothes of my Bed, nor ſtir my Foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my illneſs being enquired after about the Town, was concluded to be the *Gout*; and being no longer feveriſh, or in any extremity of Pain, I was content to ſee company. Every Body that came to viſit me, found ſomething to ſay upon the occaſion; ſome made a Jeſt of it, or a little reproach; others were ſerious in their Mirth, and made me Compliments as upon a happy accident and ſign of long Life. The *Spaniards* askt

me

me *Albricias* for telling me the news, that I might be ſure 'twas the *Gout*; and in ſhort, none of the Company was in ill humour but I, who had rather by half have had a Fever, or a worſe Diſeaſe at that time, where the danger might have been greater, but the trouble and the melancholy would, I am ſure, have been leſs.

Though I had never feared the *Gout*, yet I had always ſcorned it as an effect commonly of intemperance; and hated it, as that I thought made Men unfit for any thing after they were once deep ingaged in it: Beſides, I was preſt in my Journey at that time to *Nimeguen* by His Majeſty's Commands, to aſſiſt at the Treaty there. Moſt of the Ambaſſadors from the ſeveral parts of *Chriſtendom* were upon their way; One of my *Colleagues* was already upon the Place, and I had promiſed immediately to follow; for by our Commiſſion we were to be two to act in that Mediation; and to help at this pinch, I had always heard that a Fit of the *Gout* uſed to have ſix Weeks at the leaſt for its ordinary Period. With theſe comforts about me, and ſullen-

neſs enough to uſe no Remedy of a hundred that were told me, Monſieur *Zulichem* came to ſee me (among the reſt of my Friends) who I think never came into company without ſaying ſomething that was new, and ſo he did upon my occaſion. For talking of my illneſs, and approving of my obſtinacy againſt all the common Preſcriptions; he asked me whether I had never heard the *Indian* way of Curing the *Gout* by *Moxa?* I told him no, and asked him what it was? He ſaid it was a certain kind of Moſs that grew in the *East-Indies*; that their way, was when ever any Body fell into a Fit of the *Gout*, to take a ſmall quantity of it, and form it into a Figure broad at bottom as a Two-pence, and pointed at top; To ſet the bottom exactly upon the Place where the violence of the Pain was fixed; then with a ſmall rund perfumed Match (made likewiſe in the *Indies*) to give Fire to the top of the Moſs; which burning down by degrees, came at length to the Skin, and burn it till the Moſs was conſumed to Aſhes: That many times the firſt burning would remove the Pain; if not,

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it was to be renewed a ſecond, third and fourth time, till it went away, and till the Perſon found he could ſet his Foot boldly to the Ground and walk.

I deſired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new Operation. He ſaid by the Relation of ſeveral who had ſeen and tried it in the *Indies*, but particularly by an ingenious little Book, written of it by a *Dutch* Miniſter at *Batavia*, who being extreamly tormented with a Fit of the *Gout*, an old *Indian* Woman coming to ſee him undertook to Cure him, and did it immediately by this *Moxa*; and after many Experiments of it there, had written this Treatiſe of it in *Dutch* for the uſe of his Country-men, and ſent over a quantity of the Moſs and Matches to his Son at *Utrecht*, to be ſold, if any would be perſwaded to uſe them. That though he could not ſay whether experiment had been made of it here, yet the Book was worth reading; and for his part, He thought He ſhould try it if ever He ſhould fall into that Diſeaſe.

I deſired the Book, which He promiſed to ſend me next Morning; and this

this diſcourſe of Monſieur *Zulichem* buſied my Head all night. I hated the very name of the *Gout*, and thought it a reproach: and for the good ſign People called it, I could not find that mended an ill thing; nor could I like any ſign of living long in weakneſs or in pain. I deplored the loſs of my Legs, and confinement to my Chamber at an Age that left me little pleaſure but of walking and of Air; but the worſt Circumſtance of all, was the ſentence paſt upon it of being without Cure.

I had paſt Twenty years of my Life, and ſeveral Accidents of danger in my Health, without any uſe of Phyſicians; and from ſome Experiments of my own, as well as much reading and thought upon that ſubject, had reaſoned my ſelf into an opinion, that the uſe of them and their Methods (unleſs in ſome ſudden and acute Diſeaſe) was it ſelf a very great venture; and that their greateſt Practiſers practiſed leaſt upon themſelves, or their Friends. I had ever quarelled with their ſtudying Art more than Nature, and applying themſelves to Methods, rather than to Remedies; whereas the knowledg of the

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laſt is all that Nine Parts in Ten of the World have truſted to in all Ages.

But for the common Remedies of the *Gout*, I found Exceptions to them all; the time of purging was paſt with me, which otherwiſe I ſhould certainly have tried upon the Authority of the great *Hippocrates*, who ſays it ſhould be done upon the firſt motion of the Humour in the *Gout*. For Poltices, I knew they allayed pain; but withal, that they drew down the Humours, and ſuppled the Parts, thereby making the Paſſages wider, and apter to receive them in greater quantity; and I had often heard it concluded, that the uſe of them ended in loſing that of ones Limbs, by weakening the Joynt upon every fit. For Plaſters that had any effect, I thought it muſt be by diſperſing or repelling the Humours, which could not be done without endangering perhaps ſome other Diſeaſe of the Bowels, the Stomach, or the Head. Reſt and warmth either of Clothes or bathings, I doubted would in a degree have the effects of Poltices; and Sweating was proper for prevention rather than Remedy. So that all I could end

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in with any ſatisfaction, was patience and abſtinence; and though I eaſily reſolved of the laſt, yet the firſt was hard to be found in the circumſtances of my Buſineſs, as well as of my Health.

All this made me rave upon Monſieur *Zulichem*'s new Operation; and for the way of curing by Fire, I found Twenty things to give me an opinion of it. I remembred what I had read of the *Egyptians* of old, who uſed it in moſt Diſeaſes; and what I had often heard of that practice ſtill continuing among the Moors of *Africk*; ſo that a Slave is ſeldom taken (as both *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* affirm) who has not many Scars of the hot-iron upon his Body, which they uſe upon moſt Diſtempers, but eſpecially thoſe of the Head, and conſequently in Phyſick as well as in Surgery. In the time of the *Incas* reign in *Peru*, (which I take to have been one of the greateſt Conſtitutions of Abſolute Monarchy that has been in the World) no compoſition was allowed by the Laws to be uſed in point of Medicine, but only Simples proper to each Diſeaſe. Burning way much in uſe either by natural or artificial Fires;

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particularly for all illneſs of Teeth, and ſoreneſs or ſwelling of the Gums (which they were ſubject to from their nearneſs to the Sea) they had an Herb which never failed of curing it, and being laid to the Gums, burnt away all the Fleſh that was ſwelled or corrupted, and made way for new that came again as ſound as that of a Child. I remembred to have had my ſelf in my youth, one cruel Wound cured by ſcalding Medicament, after it was grown ſo putrified as to have (in the Surgeons opinion) endangered the Bone; and the violent ſwelling and bruiſe of another, taken away as ſoon as I received it, by ſcalding it with Milk. I remembred the cure of Chilblanes when I was a Boy (which may be called the Childrens *Gout*) by burning at the Fire, or elſe by ſcalding Brine, that has (I ſuppoſe) the ſame effect. I had heard of curing the Stings of Adders, and Bites of mad-Dogs, by immediately burning the Part with a hot-iron; and of ſome ſtrange cures of Frenzies, by caſual applications of Fire to the lower Parts; which ſeems reaſonable enough, by the violent revulſion it may make of humors from

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the Head; and agrees with the opinions and practice I mentioned before, of *Egypt* and *Africa*. Perhaps blistering in the Neck and hot Pidgeons, may be in use among us upon the same Grounds; and in our Methods of Surgery, nothing is found of such effect in the case of old Ulcers as Fire, which is certainly the greatest drawer and drier, and thereby the greatest cleanser that can be found. I knew very well, that in Diseases of Cattle, there is nothing more commonly used nor with greater success; and concluded it was but a tenderness to Mankind that made it less in use amongst us, and which had introduced Corrosives and Causticks to supply the place of it, which are indeed but artificial Fires.

I mention all these Reflections, to shew that the experiment I resolved to make, was upon thought, and not rashness or impatience (as those called it that would have diswaded me from it;) but the chief reason, was, that I liked no other, because I knew they failed every day, and left men in despair of being ever well cured of the Gout.

Next morning I lookt over the Book which

which Monſieur *Zulichem* had promiſed me, written by the Miniſter at *Batavia*. I pretended not to judge of the *Indian* Philoſophy, or reaſonings upon the cauſe of the *Gout*; but yet thought them as probable as thoſe of Phyſicians here; and liked them ſo much the better, becauſe it ſeems their opinion in the Point is general among them, as well as their method of curing; whereas the differences, among ours are almoſt as many in both as there are Phyſicians that reaſon upon the Cauſes, or practiſe upon the cure of that Diſeaſe. They hold that the cauſe of the *Gout* is a malignant Vapour that falls upon the Joynt between the Bone and the Skin that covers it, which being the moſt ſenſible of all parts of the Body, cauſes the violence of the Pain. That the ſwelling is no part of the Diſeaſe, but only an Effect of it, and of a kindneſs in Nature, that to relieve the part affected, calls down Humours to damp the malignity of the Vapour, and thereby aſſwage the ſharpneſs of the Pain; which ſeldom fails whenever the Part grows very much ſwelled. That conſequently the ſwellings and returns of the

the *Gout*, are chiefly occaſioned by the ill Methods of curing it at firſt. That this Vapour falling upon Joynts which have not motion, and thereby heat enough to diſpel it, cannot be cured otherwiſe than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the preſent ceaſing of the pain upon the ſecond, third, or fourth application of the *Moxa*, which are performed in a few Minutes time. And the Author affirms it happens often there, that upon the laſt burning, an extream ſtench comes out of the Skin where the Fire had opened it.

Whatever the reaſonings were which yet ſeemed ingenious enough; the experiments alledged with ſo much confidence, and to be ſo general in thoſe Parts, and told by an Author that writ like a plain Man, and one whoſe Profeſſion was to tell truth, helped me to reſolve upon making the trial. I was confirmed in this reſolution by a *German* Phyſician, Doctor *Theodore Coledy*, who was then in my Family, a ſober and intelligent Man, whom I diſpatched immediately to *Utrecht*, to bring me ſome of the *Moxa*, and learn the exact

exact Method of uſing it, from the Man that ſold it, who was Son to the Miniſter of *Batavia*. He returned with all that belonged to this Cure, having performed the whole Operation upon his Hand by the Mans direction. I immediately made the Experiment in the manner before related, ſetting the *Moxa* juſt upon the place where the firſt violence of my Pain began, which was the Joint of the great Toe, and where the greateſt Anger and Soreneſs ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the ſwelling of my Foot, ſo that I had never yet in five days been able to ſtir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the firſt Burning I found the Skin ſhrink all round the place; and whether the greater Pain of the Fire had taken away the ſenſe of a ſmaller or no, I could not tell; but I thought it leſs than it was: I burnt it the ſecond time, and upon it obſerved the Skin about it to ſhrink, and the Swelling to flat yet more than at firſt. I began to move my Toe, which I had not done before; but I found ſome remainders of Pain. I burnt it the third time, and obſerved ſtill the ſame Ef-

fects without, but a much greater within; for I ſtirred the Joynt ſeveral times at eaſe; and growing bolder, I ſet my Foot to the Ground without any pain at all. After this I purſued the Method preſcribed by the Book, and the Author's Son at *Utrecht*, and had a bruiſed Clove of Garlick laid to the place that was burnt, and covered with a large Plaiſter of *Diapalma*, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more pain, and treading ſtill bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a Slipper to let in my Foot, ſwelled as it was, and walkt half a dozen Turns about the Room, without any pain or trouble, and much to the ſurprize of thoſe that were about me, as well as to my own. For though I had reaſoned my ſelf before-hand into an opinion of the thing, yet I could not expect ſuch an Effect as I found, which ſeldom reaches to the degree that is promiſed by the Preſcribers of any Remedies, whereas this went beyond it, having been applied ſo late, and the Preſcription reaching only to the firſt attaque of the Pain, and before the Part begins to ſwell.

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For the pain of the Burning it ſelf, the firſt time it is ſharp, ſo that a Man may be allowed to complain: I reſolved I would not, but that I would count to a certain Number, as the beſt meaſure how long it laſted. I told Six-ſcore and four, as faſt as I could; and when the Fire of the *Moxa* was out, all pain of Burning was over. The ſecond time was not near ſo ſharp as the firſt, and the third a great deal leſs than the ſecond. The Wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked only ſcorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole trouble of the Operation, than half a quarter of an hours Pain in the degree I felt it the firſt whole Night.

After Four and twenty Hours, I had it opened, and found a great Bliſter drawn by the Garlick, which I uſed no more, but had the Bliſter cut, which run a good deal of Water, but filled again by next night; and this continued for three Days, with only a Plaiſter of *Diapalma* upon it; after which time the Bliſter dried up, and left a Sore about as big as a Two-pence, which healed and went away in about a weeks

time longer; but I continued to walk every day, and without the leaſt return of Pain, the Swelling ſtill growing leſs, though it were near ſix Weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common Opinion, that walking too much might draw down the Humour; which I have ſince had reaſon to conclude a great miſtake, and that if I had walked as much as I could from the firſt Day the Pain left me, the Swelling might have left me too in a much leſs time.

The talk of this Cure run about the *Hague*, and made the Converſation in other Places, as well as in the Viſits I received while I kept my Chamber, which was about a Fortnight after the Burning. Monſieur *Zulichem* came to me among the reſt of the good Company of the Town, and much pleaſed with my Succeſs, as well from his own great humanity, and particular kindneſs to me, as from the part he had in being the firſt Preſcriber of my Cure, and from the opinion it gave him of a common good Fortune befallen all that felt, or were in danger of the *Gout*.

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Among others he told it to, Monſieur *Seriuchamps* was one, an Envoy of the Duke of *Lorrains* then in Town; a Perſon very much, and very deſervedly eſteemed among all the good Company in Town, and to whom every body was kind upon the ſcore of his own good Humour, or his Maſters ill Fortunes: He had been long ſubject to the *Gout*, and with conſtant returns of long and violent Fits two or three times in a year. He was a Man frank and generous, and loved to enjoy Health whilſt he had it, without making too much reflection upon what was to follow; and ſo when he was well, denied himſelf nothing of what he had a mind to eat or drink; which gave him a Body full of Humours, and made his Fits of the Gout as frequent and violent as moſt I have known: When they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as ſoon as they were paſt, till a new remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel Fit, which was fallen upon his knee, and with extream Pain: When he heard of my Cure, he ſent to me firſt for the Relation of it, and upon it, for my *Moxa*, and for *Coleby* to

apply it. He ſuffered it; but after his pleaſant way roared out, and ſwore at me all the while it was burning, and asked if I took him for a Sorcerer, that I ſent to burn him alive. Yet with all this, the Pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the ſame place; but he was ſomething diſcouraged by a new Pain falling ſome days after upon his Elbow on the other ſide, which gave him a new Fit, though gentler and ſhorter than they uſed to be.

About the ſame time one of the Maids of my Houſe was grown almoſt deſperate with the Tooth-ach, and want of ſleep upon it, and was without Remedy. The Book gives the ſame Cure for certain in that illneſs, by burning upon the great Vein under the Ear; and the Man who ſold it at *Utrecht* had aſſured *Coleby* he had ſeen many Cures by it in that kind. We reſolved to try; which was done, and the Pain immediately taken away, and the Wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at leaſt while ſhe was in my Houſe.

Thus paſſed the firſt Experiment; upon which Monſieur *Zulichem* giving

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an Account of it to ſome of his Friends at *Greſham-Colledge*, came to me before I left the *Hague*, formally to deſire me from them, and from himſelf, that I would give a Relation of it that might be made publick, as a thing which might prove in appearance of common utility to ſo great numbers as were ſubject to that Diſeaſe; and told me, that ſome of *Greſham-Colledge* had already given order for tranſlating into *Engliſh* the little *Batavian* Treatiſe. I commended the Care of publiſhing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an Experiment I had reaſon to approve; but excuſed my ſelf from any Relation of my own, as having too much buſineſs at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in publick. I had another reaſon to decline it, that ever uſe to go far with me upon all new Invenſions or Experiments, which is, that the beſt trial of them is by time, and obſerving whether they live or no; and that one or two Trials can pretend to make no Rule, no more than one Swallow a Summer; and ſo before I told my Story to more than my Friends, I had a mind to make more

Trials my ſelf, or ſee them made by other People as wiſe as I had been.

During the Confinement of this Fit, I fell into ſome methods, and into much Diſcourſe upon the ſubject of the *Gout*, that may be perhaps as well worth reflection by ſuch as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this *Indian* Cure. In the firſt place, from the day I kept my Chamber, till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I reſtrained my ſelf to ſo regular a Diet, as to eat Fleſh but once a day, and little at a time, without Salt or Vinegar; and to one moderate Draught, either of Water or Small Ale. I concluded to truſt to Abſtinence and Exerciſe, as I had ever reſolved, if I fell into this Diſeaſe; and if it continued, to confine my ſelf wholly to the Milk-diet, of which I had met with very many and great Examples, and had a great Opinion even in long and inveterate *Gouts*. Beſides this refuge, I met with, in my Viſits and Converſation ariſing upon my illneſs, many Notions or Medicines very new to me, and Reflections that may be ſo perhaps to other Men. Old Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* told me, he laught

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at the *Gout*, and though he had been ſeveral times attaqued, yet it never gave him care nor trouble. That he uſed but one Remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boil a good quantity of Horſe-dung from a Stone-horſe of the *Hermelinne* Colour, as he called it in *French*, which is a Native White, with a ſort of a raw Noſe, and the ſame commonly about the Eyes. That when this was well boiled in Water, he ſet his Leg in a Pail-full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool for above an hour together. That after it, he drew his Leg immediately into a warm Bed, to continue the Perſpiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the Remedy be good, or the Circumſtances of Colour ſignifie any thing more, than to make more Myſtery, I know not; but I obſerved, that he ever had a Sett of ſuch *Hermelinne* Horſes in his Coach, which he told me was on purpoſe that he might never want this Remedy.

The Count *Kinski*, Ambaſſador from the Emperor to the Treaty at *Nimmegen*, gave me a Receipt of the

Salt

Salt of Harts-horn, by which a famous *Italian* Phyſician of the Emperors had performed mighty Cures upon many others as well as Himſelf, and the laſt Year upon the Count *Montecuculi*: The uſe of this, I am apt to eſteem, both from the quality given it of provoking Sweat extreamly, and of taking away all Sharpneſs from whatever you put it in; which muſt both be of good effect in the Cure of the *Gout*.

The *Rhyngrave*, who was killed laſt Summer before *Maſtricht*, told me his Father the old *Rhyngrave*, whom I knew very well, had been long ſubject to the *Gout*, and never uſed other Method or Remedy, than upon the very firſt Fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the Weather was, and as long as he was able to ſtand, and preſſing ſtill moſt upon the Foot that threatned him: when he came home he went to a warm Bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the place where the Pain begun. If it continued, or returned next day, he repeated the ſame courſe, and was never laid up with it; and before his death

death recommended this Courſe to his Son, if he ſhould ever fall into that Accident.

A *Dutchman*, who had been long in the *Eaſt-Indies*, told me in one part of them, where he had lived ſome time, the general Remedy of all that were ſubject to the *Gout*, was rubbing with Hands? and that whoever had Slaves enough to do that conſtantly every day, and relieve one another by turns till the Motion raiſed a violent Heat about the Joints where it was chiefly uſed, was never troubled much, or laid up by that Diſeaſe.

My youngeſt Brother told me he had a Keeper very ſubject to it, but that it never laid him up, but he was ſtill walking after his Deer or his Stud while he had the Fits upon him, as at other times, and often from morning to night, though in pain all the while. This he gave me as one Inſtance, that poor and toiling Men have ſometimes the *Gout*, and that many more may have it, who take no more notice of it, than his Keeper did, who yet he confeſt uſed to bring the Fits of *Gout* upon him, by Fits of Drinking, which no doubt is

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a Receipt that will hardly fail, if Men grow old in the Cuſtom.

Monſieur *Serinchamps* told me, a *Lorrain* Surgeon had under taken to cure it by a more extraordinary way than any of theſe; which was by whipping the naked Part with a great Rod of Nettles till it grew all over bliſtered; and that he had once perſuaded him to perform this Penance in a ſharp Fit he had, and the Pain in his Knee ſo violent, as helped him to endure this Remedy. He ſaid it was cruel, that all where he was whipt, grew ſo angry, and ſwell'd as well as bliſter'd, that he thought it had given him a Fever that night. The next morning the Part was all as ſtiff as a Boot, and the Skin like Parchment; but that keeping it anointed with a certain *Oil* likewiſe of *Nettles*, it paſt in two days, and the *Gout* too, without feeling any more pain that Fit.

All theſe things put together, with what a great Phyſician writes of Cures by whipping with Rods, and another with Holly, and by other cruelties of cutting or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the *Gout* was a Companion that ought to be treated like an

Enemy

Enemy, and by no means like a Friend, and that grew troubleſome chiefly by good uſuage; and this was confirmed to me, by conſidering that it haunted uſually the Eaſie and the Rich, the Nice and the Lazy, who grow to endure much, becauſe they can endure little; That make much of it as ſoon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themſelves too; That take care to carry it preſently to Bed, and keep it ſafe and warm, and indeed lay up the *Gout* for two or three Months, while they give out, that the *Gout* lays up them. On t'other ſide, it hardly approaches the rough and the poor, ſuch as labour for meat, and eat only for hunger; that drink Water, either pure, or but diſcoloured with Malt; that know no uſe of Wine, but for a Cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: Or if ſuch Men happen by their native conſtitutions to fall into the *Gout*, either they mind it not at all, having no leiſure to be ſick; or they uſe it like a Dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before, they keep it wet and cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps forced

forced by that to fast more than before, and if it lasts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it, or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while perhaps never know the very name of the *Gout*.

But to follow my experiment: I past that Summer here at *Nimeguen*, without the least remembrance of what had happen'd to me in the Spring, till about the end of *September*, and then began to feel a pain that I knew not what to make of, in the same joint, but of my other foot: I had flattered my self with hopes, that the vapour had been exhaled, as my learned Authors had taught me, and that thereby the business had been ended; This made me neglect my *Moxa* for two days, the pain not being violent, till at last my foot begun to swell, and I could set it no longer to the ground. Then I fell to my *Moxa* again, and burnt it four times before the pain went clear away, as it did upon the last, and I walked at ease, as I had done the first time, and within six days after above a league, without the least return of any pain.

I continued well till this Spring, when about the end of *March* feeling again

again the ſame Pain, and in the ſame Joint, but of the firſt Foot; and finding it grow violent, I immediately burnt it, and felt no more after the third time; was never off my Legs, nor kept my Chamber a day. Upon both theſe laſt Experiments I omitted the application of Garlick, and contented my ſelf with a Plaiſter only of *Diapalmæ* upon the place that was burnt, which cruſted and healed in very few days, and without any trouble. I have ſince continu'd perfectly well to this preſent *June*; and with ſo much confidence of the Cure, that I have been content to trouble my ſelf ſome hours with telling the Story, which, 'tis poſſible, may at one time or other be thought worth making publick, if I am further confirmed by more time and Experiments of my own, or of others. And thereby I may not only ſatisfie Monſieur *Zulichem*, but my ſelf too, who ſhould be ſorry to omit any good I thought I could do to other Men, though never ſo unknown.

But this Cure, I ſuppoſe cannot pretend to deal with inveterate *Gouts*, grown habitual by long and frequent returns,

returns, by dispositions of the Stomach to convert even the best Nourishment into those Humours, and the Vessels to receive them. For such Constitutions, by all I have discovered, or considered upon this Subject, the Remedies (if any) are to be proposed either from a constant Course of the Milken Diet, continued at least for a Year together; or else from some of those Methods commonly used in the Cure of a worse Disease (if at least I may be so bold with one that is so much in vogue); the usual Exceptions to the first, are not only so long a constraint, but the weakness of Spirits whilst it continues, and the danger of Fevers whenever 'tis left off. There may, I believe, be some Care necessary in this last point, upon so great a Change; but for the other, I have met with no Complaints among those that have used it; and Count *Egmont*, who has done so, more, I believe, than any other Man, has told me he never found himself in so much vigour, as in the midst of that Course. I have known so many great Examples of this Cure, and heard of its being so familiar in *Austria*, that I wonder it

has

has gained no more Ground in other Places, and am apt to conclude from it, that the loſs of Pain is generally thought to be purchaſed too dear by the loſs of Pleaſure.

For the other, I met with a Phyſician, whom I eſteemed a Man of truth, that told me of ſeveral great Cures of the *Gout*, by a courſe of *Guiacum*, and of to Patients of his own that had gone ſo far as to be fluxed for it, and with ſucceſs. And indeed there ſeems nothing ſo proper, as what pretends to change the whole Maſs of the Blood, or elſe a long courſe of violent perſpiration. But the miſchief is, that the *Gout* is commonly the Diſeaſe of aged Men, who cannot go through with theſe ſtrong Remedies, which young Men play with upon other occaſions; and the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, why theſe ways are ſo little practiſed, is becauſe it happens ſo ſeldom that young Men have the *Gout*.

Let the Diſeaſe be new or old, and the Remedies either of common or foreign growth, there is one Ingredient of abſolute neceſſity in all Caſes: For whoever thinks of curing the *Gout*

without great Temperance, had better resolve to endure it with patience: And I know not whether some desperate degrees of Abstinence would not have the same effect upon other Men, as they had upon *Atticus*, who weary of his Life as well as his Physicians, by long and cruel Pains of a Dropsical *Gout*, and despairing of any Cure, resolved by degrees to starve himself to death, and went so far, that the Physicians found he had ended his Disease instead of his Life; and told him, that to be well, there would need nothing but only resolve to live. His Answer was noble; That since dying was a thing to be done, and he was now so far on his way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was said and done, and could indeed have been so by none but such a Man as *Atticus*, who was singular in his Life, as well as his Death; and has been ever, I confess, by me as much esteened in both, as any of those that have made greater Figures upon the busie Scenes of their own times, and since in Records of Story and of Fame.

But perhaps some such Methods might

might ſucceed with others upon the deſigns to live, as they did with him upon thoſe to die; and though ſuch degrees may be too deſperate, yet none of Temperance can, I think, be too great for thoſe that pretend the Cure of inveterate *Gouts*, or indeed of moſt other Diſeaſes to which Mankind is expoſed, rather by the viciouſneſs than by the frailty of their Natures. Temperance, That Virtue without Pride, and Fortune without Envy, that gives indolence of Body, and tranquility of Mind; the beſt Guardian of Youth, and ſupport of old Age: The Precept of Reaſon, as well as Religion; and Phyſician of the Soul as well as the Body; The Tutelar Goddeſs of Health, and univerſal Medicine of Life, that clears the Head, and cleanſes the blood, that eaſes the Stomach, and purges the Bowels, that ſtrengthens the Nerves, enlightens the Eyes, and comforts the Heart. In a word, that ſecures and perfects Digeſtion, and thereby avoids the Fumes and Winds to which we owe the Collick and the Spleen; thoſe Crudities and ſharp Humours that feed the *Scurvy* and the *Gout*, and thoſe ſlimy Dregs,

out of which the *Gravel* and *Stone* are formed within us. Diſeaſes by which we often condemn our ſelves to greater Torments and Miſeries of Life, than have perhaps been yet invented by Anger or Revenge, or inflicted by the greateſt Tyrants upon the worſt of Men.

I do not allow the pretence of Temperance to all ſuch as are ſeldom or never drunk, or fall into Surfeits; for Men may loſe their Health without loſing their Senſes, and be intemperate every day, without being drunk perhaps once in their Lives: Nay, for ought I know, if a Man ſhould paſs the Month in a College-diet, without exceſs or variety of Meats or of Drinks, but only the laſt day give a looſe in them both, and ſo far till it comes to ſerve him for Phyſick rather than Food, and he utter his Stomach as well as his Heart; he may perhaps as to the meer conſiderations of Health, do much better than another that eats every day but as Men do generally in *England*, who pretend to live well in Court or in Town; that is in Plenty and Luxury, with great variety of meats, and a dozen

dozen Glaſſes of Wine at a meal, ſtill ſpuring up Appetite when it would lie down of it ſelf; fluſht every day but never drunk; and with the help of dozing three Hours after Dinner, as ſober and wiſe as they were before.

But that which I call Temperance, and reckon ſo neceſſary in all attempts and methods of curing the *Gout*, is a regular and ſimple diet, limited by every Mans experience of his own eaſie digeſtion, and thereby proportioning, as near, as well as can be, the daily repairs to the daily decays of our waſting Bodies. Nor can this be determined by meaſures and weights, or any general Leſſian Rules; but muſt vary with the vigor or decays of Age or of Health, and the uſe or diſuſe of Air, or of Exerciſe, with the changes of Appetite; and thereby what every man may find or ſuſpect of the preſent ſtrength or weakneſs of digeſtion: And in caſe of Exceſſes, I take the *German* Proverbial Cure by a *Hair of the ſame Beaſt*, to be the worſt in the World; and the beſt to be that which is called the Monks Diet, to eat till you are ſick, and faſt till you are well again. In all courſes

France, did I obſerve any I converſt with to drink it unmixt at meals. The true uſe of Wine, is either as I mentioned, for a Cordial; and I believe there is not a better to ſuch as drink it ſeldom; Or elſe what the Mother of *Lemuel* tells her Son, *Give ſtrong Drink to him that is ready to periſh, and Wine to thoſe that are heavy of Heart; let him drink and forget his Poverty, and remember his Miſery no more.* At leaſt it ought to be reſerv'd for the times and occaſions of feaſt and of joy, and be treated like a Miſtreſs rather than a Wife, without abandoning either our Wits to our Humours, or our Healths to our Pleaſure, or that of one ſenſe to thoſe of all the reſt, which I doubt it impairs. This Philoſophy I ſuppoſe may paſs with the youngeſt and moſt ſenſual Men, while they pretend to be reaſonable; but whenever they have a mind to be otherwiſe, the beſt way they can take, is to drink or to ſleep, and either of them will ſerve the turn.

FINIS.

Miſcellanea.

THE SECOND PART.

In Four

ESSAYS.

I. *Upon Ancient and Modern Learning.*
II. *Upon the Gardens of* Epicurus.
III. *Upon Heroick Virtue.*
IV. *Upon Poetry.*

BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*
BARONET.

——— *Juvat antiquos accedere Fontes.*

The Third Edition,
Corrected and Augmented by the Author.

LONDON:
Printed for *Ri. Simpſon*, at the *Three Trouts*, and *Ra. Simpſon* at the *Harp* in St. *Paul's-Church-Yard*, 1692.

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Miscellanea.

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Almæ Matri

Academiæ Cantabrigienſi

Has qualeſcunque Nugas

At Rei Literariæ non alienas

D. D. Dq;

ALUMNUS olim

Et ſemper Obſervantiſſimus

W. TEMPLE.

Alme Mauri

Academiæ Cantabrigiensis

Hos qualescunque Nugas

Ac Nec Literaris non alienas

D. D. D.

ALUMNUS olim

Ut semper Observantissimus

W. TEMPLE.

The Printer to the Reader.

THE *First Edition of these Essays having been Published without the Author's taking any further notice of them, than giving his Consent to a Friend who desired it: Several Omissions and some Mistakes were observed by him in the First and Second Editions. Whereupon He has been since prevailed with, both to Review this Third Edition, and Augment it with several large Periods, which lying in loose Papers, and at another Place than where the First Copy was Transcribed, came to be Omitted in the Two former Editions,* viz.

In the Second Essay, one concerning the Fruits of the East *and* West: *Another concerning Rules to Gardeners.*

And in the Third Essay, one Period concerning the Original of the Word Barons: *Another about the Original of* Duels. *And a Sixth Section in the same Essay, concerning* Conquests.

MISCELLANEA.

An Eſſay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning.

WHoever Converſes much among the Old Books, will be ſomething hard to pleaſe among the New; yet theſe muſt have their Part too in the leiſure of an idle man, and have many of them, their Beauties as well as their Defaults. Thoſe of Story, or Relations of Matter of Fact, have a value from their Subſtance, as much as from their Form, and the variety of Events, is ſeldom without Entertainment or Inſtruction, how indifferently ſoever the Tale is told. Other ſorts of Writings have little of eſteem, but what they receive from the Wit, Learning, or Genius of the Authors, and are ſeldom met with of any excellency,

 becauſe

becauſe they do but trace over the Paths that have been beaten by the Ancients, or Comment, Critick and Flouriſh upon them; and are at beſt but Copies after thoſe Originals, unleſs upon Subjects never touched by them; ſuch as are all that relate to the different Conſtitutions of Religions, Laws, or Governments in ſeveral Countries, with all matters of Controverſie that ariſe upon them.

Two Pieces that have lately pleaſed me (abſtracted from any of theſe Subjects) are, one in *Engliſh* upon the *Antideluvian* World; and another in *French*, upon the *Plurality of Worlds*; one Writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman, but both very finely in their ſeveral Kinds, and upon their ſeveral Subjects, which would have made very poor work in common hands: I was ſo pleaſed with the laſt (I mean the Faſhion of it, rather than the Matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what elſe I could of the ſame hand, till I met with a ſmall Piece concerning Poeſy, which gave me the ſame exception to both theſe Authors, whom I ſhould otherwiſe have been very partial to. For the firſt, could not end his

Learned

Learned Treatiſe, without a Panegyrick of Modern Learning, and Knowledge, in compariſon of the Ancient: And the other falls ſo groſly into the cenſure of the Old Poetry, and preference of the New, that I could not read either of theſe Strains, without ſome indignation, which no quality among men is ſo apt to raiſe in me as ſufficiency, the worſt compoſition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind. But theſe Two, being not the only Perſons of the Age that defend theſe Opinions, it may be worth examining; how far either Reaſon or Experience can be allowed to plead or determin in their favour.

The Force of all that I have met with upon this Subject, either in Talk or Writing, is, Firſt, as to Knowledge, That we muſt have more than the Ancients, becauſe we have the Advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illuſtrated by the Similitude of a Dwarfs ſtanding upon a Gyants ſhoulders, and ſeeing more or farther than he. Next, as to Wit or Genius, that Nature being ſtill the ſame, theſe muſt be much at a Rate in all Ages, at leaſt in the ſame Clymates, as the

Growth and Size of Plants and Animals commonly are; And if both theſe are allowed, they think the Cauſe is gained. But I cannot tell why we ſh ould conclude, that the Ancient Writers had not as much Advantage from th: Knowledge of others, that were Ancient to them, as we we have from thoſe that are Ancient to us. The Invention of Printing, has not perhaps, multiplied Books, but only the Copies of them; and if we believe there were Six Hundred Thouſand in the Library of *Ptolomy*, we ſhall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, nor perhaps, by all put together; I mean ſo many Originals, that have lived any time, and thereby given Teſtimony of their having been thought worth preſerving. For the Scribblers are infinite, that like Muſhrooms or Flys, are born and dye in ſmall circles of time; whereas Books like Proverbs, receive their Chief Value from the Stamp and Eſteem of Ages through which they have paſſed. Beſides, the account of this Library at *Alexandria*, and others very Voluminous in the leſſer *Aſia* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of Ancient Writers in many of thoſe Books which

we

we now call Ancient, both Philoſophers and Hiſtorians. 'Tis true, that beſides what we have in Scripture concerning the Original and Progreſs of the *Jewiſh* Nation; all that paſſed in the reſt of our World before the *Trojan* War, is either ſunk in the depths of time, wrapt up in the myſteries of Fables, or ſo maimed by the want of Teſtimonies and loſs of Authors, that it appears to us in too obſcure a ſhade, to make any Judgment upon it. For the Fragments of *Manethon* about the Antiquities of *Egypt*, the Relations in *Juſtin* concerning the *Scythian* Empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as the Records of *China*, make ſuch Excurſions beyond the periods of time given us by the Holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reaſon upon them. And this diſagreement it ſelf after ſo great a part of the World became Chriſtian, may have contributed to the loſs of many Ancient Authors. For *Solomon* tells us even in his time, of Writing many Books there was no end; and whoever conſiders the Subject and the Stile of *Job*, which by many is thought more ancient than *Moſes*, will hardly

think it was Written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books or Learning; and yet he ſpeaks of the Ancients then and their Wiſdome as we do now.

But if any ſhould ſo very raſhly and preſumptuouſly conclude, That there were few Books before thoſe we have either Extant or upon Record; yet that cannot argue there was no Knowledge or Learning before thoſe periods of time, whereof they give us the ſhort account. Books may be helps to Learning and Knowledge, and make it more common and diffuſed; but I doubt, whether they are neceſſary ones or no, or much advance any other Science, beyond the particular Records of Actions or Regiſters of time; and theſe perhaps might be as long preſerved without them, by the care and exactneſs of Tradition in the long Succeſſions of certain Races of men, with whom they were intruſted. So in *Mexico* and *Peru*, before the leaſt uſe or mention of Letters, there was remaining among them, the knowledge of what had paſſed in thoſe mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages. Whereas in *Ireland*, that is ſaid to have flouriſhed in Books

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and Learning before they had much Progreſs in *Gaul* or *Britany*; there are now hardly any Traces left of what paſſed there, before the Conqueſt made of that Country by the *Engliſh* in *Henry* the Second's Time. A ſtrange but plain Demonſtration, how Knowledge and Ignorance, as well as Civility and Barbariſm, may ſucceed each other in the ſeveral Countries of the World, how much better the Records of time may be kept by Tradition in one Country than Writing in another; and how much we owe to thoſe Learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin*, without which, for ought I know, the World in all theſe *Weſtern* Parts, would hardly be known to have been above five or ſix Hundred Years old, nor any certainty remain of what paſſed in it before that time.

'Tis true, in the *Eaſtern* Regions, there ſeems to have been a general Cuſtom of the Prieſts in each Country; having been either by their own Choice, or by Deſign of the Governments, the perpetual Conſervers of Knowledge and Story. Only in *China*, this laſt was committed particularly to certain Officers of State, who were appointed or

continued upon every acceſſion to that Crown, to Regiſter diſtinctly the times and memorable Events of each Reign. In *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, *Caldea*, *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Judea*, theſe Cares were committed wholly to the Prieſts, who were not leſs diligent in the Regiſters of Times and Actions, than in the Study and Succeſſive Propagation thereby of all Natural *Science* and *Philoſophy*. Whether this was managed by Letters, or Tradition, or by both; 'tis certain the Ancient Colledges, or Societies of Prieſts, were mighty Reſervoirs or Lakes of Knowledge, into which, ſome ſtreams entred perhaps every Age, from the Obſervations or Inventions of any great Spirits or tranſcendent Genius's, that happened to riſe among them: And nothing was loſt out of theſe Stores, ſince the part of conſerving what others have gained, either in Knowledge or Empire, is as common and eaſy, as the other is hard and rare among men.

In theſe Soyls were planted and cultivated thoſe mighty growths of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Magick*, *Geometry*, Natural *Philoſophy*, and Ancient *Story*. From theſe Sources, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and others of

of the Ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all thoſe Depths of Knowledge or Learning, which have made them ſo Renowned in all ſucceeding Ages. I make a Diſtinction between theſe Two, taking Knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by Conſent of thoſe that firſt found them out, or have been ſince inſtructed in them; but Learning is the Knowledge of the different and conteſted Opinions of men in former Ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes ſo much of one, and ſo little of the other in the World.

Now to judge, Whether the Ancients or Moderns, can be probably thought to have made the greateſt Progreſs in the Search and Diſcoveries of the vaſt Region of Truth and Nature; it will be worth inquiring, What Guides have been uſed, and what Labours imploy'd by the one and the other in theſe Noble Travels and Purſuits.

The Modern Scholars have their uſual Recourſe to the Univerſities of their Countries; ſome few it may be to thoſe of their Neighbours; and this, in queſt

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of Books rather than Men for their Guides, though these are living, and those in comparison, but dead Instructors; which like a Hand with an Inscription, can point out the straight way upon the Road, but can neither tell you the next Turnings, resolve your Doubts, or answer your Questions, like a Guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his Chamber. And who are these dead Guides we seek in our Journey? They are at best but some few Authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in Greek and Latine, from the Age of *Hypocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above Six Hundred Years. Before that time I know none, besides some Poets, some Fables, and some few Epistles; and since that time, I know very few that can pretend to be Authors, rather than Transcribers or Commentators of the Ancient Learning: Now to consider at what Sources our Ancients drew their Water, and with what unwearied Pains: 'Tis evident, *Thales* and *Pythagoras* were the Two Founders of the *Grecian* Philosophy; the First, gave Beginning to the *Ionick* Sect,

Sect, and the other to the *Italick*; out of which, all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or compoſed: *Thales* was the Firſt of the *Sophi*, or Wiſe men, Famous in *Greece*; and is ſaid to have learned his *Aſtronomy*, *Geometry*, *Aſtrology*, *Theology*, in his Travels from his Country *Miletus*, to *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Crete*, and *Delphos*: *Pythagoras* was the Father of Philoſophers, and of the Vertues, having in Modeſty, choſen the Name of a Lover of Wiſdom rather than of Wiſe; and having firſt introduced the Names of the Four Cardinal Vertues, and given them the Place and Rank they have held ever ſince in the World: Of theſe Two Mighty men remain no Writings at all; for thoſe Golden Verſes, that go under the Name of *Pythagoras*, are generally rejected as ſpurious, like many other Fragments of *Sybils* or Old Poets, and ſome entire Poems that run with Ancient Names; Nor is it agreed, Whether he ever left any thing written to his Scholars or Contemporaries; or whether all that learn't of him, did it not by the Ear and Memory; and all that remained of him, for ſome ſucceeding Ages, were not by Tradition.

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But whether these ever writ or no, they were the Fountains, out of which the following *Greek* Philosophers drew all those Streams that have since watered the Studies of the Learned World, and furnished the Voluminous Writings of so many Sects, as passed afterwards under the common Name of Philosophers.

As there were Guides to those that we call Ancients, so there were others that were Guides to them, in whose Search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than, That all the Learning of the *Greeks* was deduced Originally, from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*; but, Whether theirs might not have flourished to that Degree it did, by the Commerce of the *Ethiopians*, *Chaldæans*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, is not so evident, (though I am very apt to believe it) and to most of these Regions some of the *Grecians* travelled, in Search of those Golden Mines of Learning and Knowledge: Not to mention the Voyages of *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Lycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and that vain Sophist, *Apollonius*, (who

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was but an Ape of the Ancient Philoſophers) I ſhall only trace, thoſe of *Pythagoras*, who ſeems, of all others, to have gone the fartheſt upon this Deſign, and to have brought home the greateſt Treaſures. He went firſt to *Egypt*, where he ſpent Two and Twenty Years in Study and Converſation, among the ſeveral Colledges of Prieſts, in *Memphis*, *Thebes* and *Heliopolis*, was initiated in all their ſeveral Myſteries, in order to gain Admittance and Inſtruction, in the Learning and Sciences that were there, in their higheſt Aſcendent. Twelve Years he ſpent in *Babylon*, and in the Studies and Learning of the Prieſts or *Magi* of the *Chaldæans*. Beſides, theſe long abodes, in thoſe Two Regions, celebrated for ancient Learning, and where one Author, according to their Calculations, ſays, He gained the Obſervations of innumerable Ages, He Travelled likewiſe upon the ſame ſent, into *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the Oracles, that were Renowned in any of theſe Regions.

What ſort of Mortals, ſome of thoſe may have been, that he went ſo far to ſeek, I ſhall only endeavour to Trace out, by the moſt ancient Accounts, that

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are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, since those of the Learned or Sages in the other Countries, occur more frequent in Story. These, were all of one Race or Tribe, that was kept chaft, from any other mixture, and were dedicated wholly, to the Service of the Gods, to the Studies of Wisdom and Nature, and to the Councel of their Princes. There was not only, particular care taken of their Birth and Nurture, but even from their Conception. For when a Woman among them, was known to have Conceived, much thought and diligence was imployed about her Diet and Entertainments, so far, as to furnish her with pleasant imaginations, to compose her mind and her sleeps, with the best temper, during the time she carried her Burthen: This, I take to be a strain, beyond all the *Gretian* Wit, or the Constitutions even of their imaginary Law-givers, who began their cares of Mankind, only after their Birth, and none before. Those of the *Brachmans*, continued in the same Degree for their Education and Instruction, in which, and their Studies, and Discipline of their Colledges, or separate abodes in Woods and Fields, they spent Thirty Seven Years. Their Learning

and

and Inſtitutions, were unwritten, and only traditional among themſelves, by a perpetual Succeſſion. Their Opinions in Natural Philoſophy, were, That the World was round, That it had a beginning, and would have an end, but reckoned both, by immenſe periods of time; That the Author of it, was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole Univerſe, and was diffuſed, through all the Parts of it. They held the Tranſmigration of Souls, and ſome uſed diſcourſes of Infernal Manſions, in many things, like thoſe of *Plato*. Their Moral Philoſophy, conſiſted chiefly, in preventing all Diſeaſes or Diſtempers of the Body, from which, they eſteemed the perturbation of mind, in a great meaſure to ariſe. Then, in compoſing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cares, eſteeming the troubleſome and ſollicitous thoughts, about Paſt and Future, to be like ſo many Dreams, and no more to be regarded: They deſpiſed both life and death, pleaſure and pain, or at leaſt thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Juſtice, was exact and exemplary, their Temperance ſo great, that they lived upon Rice or Herbs,

Herbs, and upon nothing, that had ſenſitive Life. If they fell ſick, they counted it ſuch a Mark of Intemperance, that they would frequently dye, out of Shame and Sullenneſs, but many lived a Hundred and Fifty, and ſome Two Hundred Years.

Their Wiſdom, was ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome of them were always imployed to follow the Courts of their Kings to adviſe them upon all Occaſions, and inſtruct them in Juſtice and Piety, and upon this Regard, *Calanus* and ſome others, are ſaid to have followed the Camp of *Alexander*, after his Conqueſt of one of their Kings. The Magical Operations, reported of them, are ſo wonderful, that they muſt either be wholly disbelieved, or will make eaſie way, for the credit of all thoſe, that we ſo often meet with, in the later Relations of the *Indies*. Above all the reſt, their Fortitude was moſt admirable, in their Patience and Endurance of all Evils, of Pain, and of Death; ſome ſtanding, ſitting, lying, without any Motion, whole dayes together, in the ſcorching Sun; others ſtanding whole nights upon one Leg, and holding up a heavy piece of Wood

or

or Stone in both hands, without ever moving, (which might be done, upon ſome ſort of Penances uſual among them.) They frequently ended their Lives, by their own Choice, and not neceſſity, and moſt uſually by Fire; ſome upon Sickneſs, others upon Misfortunes, ſome upon meer ſatiety of Life; ſo *Calanus*, in *Alexander*'s time, burn't himſelf publickly, upon growing old and infirm; *Zormanochages*, in the time of *Auguſtus*, upon his conſtant Health and Felicity, and to prevent his living ſo long, as to fall into Diſeaſes or Misfortunes. Theſe were the *Brachmans* of *India*, by the moſt Ancient Relations remaining of them, and which Compared with our Modern, (ſince Navigation and Trade have diſcovered ſo much of thoſe vaſt Countries) make it eaſie to conjecture, that the preſent *Baniams* have derived from them many of their Cuſtoms and Opinions, which are ſtill very like them, after the Courſe of Two Thouſand Years. For how long, Nations, without the Changes, introduced by Conqueſt, may continue in the ſame Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, and Opinions, will be eaſily obſerved, in the Stories of the

Peruvians, and *Mexicans*, of the *Chineſes* and *Scythians*: Theſe laſt, being deſcribed by *Herodotus*, to lodge always in Carts, and to feed commonly upon the Milk of Mares, as the *Tartars* are reported to do at this time, in many parts of thoſe Vaſt *Northern* Regions.

From theſe famous *Indians*, it ſeems to me moſt probable, that *Pythagoras* learn't, and tranſported into *Greece* and *Italy*, the greateſt part of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy, rather than from the *Ægyptians*, as is commonly ſuppoſed: For I have not obſerved, any mention of the Tranſmigration of Souls, held among the *Ægyptians*, more ancient than the time of *Pythagoras*: On the contrary, *Orpheus* is ſaid to have brought out of *Egypt*, all his Myſtical Theology, with the Stories of the *Stygian* Lake, *Charon*, the Infernal Judges, which were wrought up, by the ſucceeding Poets (with a Mixture of the *Cretan* Tales, or Traditions) into that part of the *Pagan* Religion, ſo long obſerved by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Now 'tis obvious, that this was in all parts very different from the *Pythagorean* Opinion of Tranſmigration,

migration, which, though it was preſerved long, among ſome of the ſucceeding Philoſophers, yet never entered into the vulgar Belief of *Greece* or *Italy*.

Nor does it ſeem unlikely, that the *Ægyptians* themſelves might have drawn much of their Learning from the *Indians*, for they are obſerved, in ſome Authors, to have done it from the *Æthiopians*; and Chronologers I think agree, that theſe were a Colony, that came anciently from the River *Indus*, and planted themſelves upon that part of *Africa*, which from their Name, was afterward called, *Æthiopia*, and in probability, brought their Learning and their Cuſtoms with them. The *Phœnicians*, are likewiſe ſaid to have been anciently a Colony that came from the *Red Sea*, and planted themſelves upon the *Mediterranean*, and from thence ſpread ſo far the Fame of their Learning, and their Navigations.

To ſtrengthen this Conjecture, of much Learning being derived from ſuch remote and ancient Fountains as the *Indies*, and perhaps *China*; it may be aſſerted with great Evidence, that

though we know little of the Antiquities of *India*, beyond *Alexander*'s time; yet thoſe of *China* are the oldeſt that any where pretend to any fair Records: For theſe are agreed, by the Miſſionary Jeſuits, to extend ſo far above Four Thouſand Years; and with ſuch Appearance of clear and undeniable Teſtmonies, that thoſe Religious Men themſelves, rather than queſtion their Truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar Chronology of the Scripture, are content to have recourſe to that of the *Septuagint*, and thereby, to ſalve the Appearances, in thoſe Records of the *Chineſes*. Now though we have been deprived the knowledge, of what Courſe, Learning may have held, and to what heights it may have ſoared, in that vaſt Region, and during ſo great Antiquity of time, by reaſon of the Savage Ambition of one of their Kings, who deſirous to begin the Period of Hiſtory, from his own Reign, ordered all Books to be burnt, except thoſe of Phyſick and Agriculture; ſo that, what we have remaining beſides, of that wiſe and ancient Nation, is but what was either by chance, or by private Induſtry, reſcued

cued out of that publick Calamity, (among which, were a Copy of the Records and Succeſſions of the Crown); yet it is obſervable and agreed, that as the Opinions of the Learned among them are at preſent, ſo they were anciently, divided into two Sects, whereof one held, the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the other, the Eternity of Matter, comparing the World to a great Maſs of Metal, out of which, ſome Parts are continually made up into a Thouſand various Figures, and after certain Periods, melted down again into the ſame Maſs. That there were many Volumes, written of old in Natural Philoſophy among them: That near the Age of *Socrates*, lived their Gteat and Renowned *Confutius*, who began the ſame Deſign, of reclaiming men from the uſeleſs and endleſs Speculations of Nature, to thoſe of Morality. But with this Difference, that the Bent of the *Grecian*, ſeemed to be chiefly, upon the Happineſs of private Men or Families, but that of the *Chineſe*, upon the good Temperament and Felicity of ſuch Kingdoms or Governments, as that was, and is known to have continued for ſeveral

Thouſands of Years, and may be properly called, a Government of Learned men, ſince no other are admitted into Charges of the State.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that in theſe Remote Regions, not only *Pythagoras* learn't the firſt Principles, both of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy; but that thoſe of *Democritus*, (who Travelled into *Ægypt*, *Caldæa*, and *India*, and whoſe Doctrines were after improved by *Epicurus*) might have been derived from the ſame Fountains, and that long before them both, *Lycurgus* who likewiſe Travelled into *India*, brought from thence alſo, the Chief Principles of his Laws and Politicks, ſo much Renowned in the World.

For whoever obſerves the Account already given, of the Ancient *Indian*, and *Chineſe* Learning and Opinions, will eaſily find among them, the Seeds of all theſe *Grecian* Productions and Inſtitutions: As the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the four Cardinal Vertues, The long Silence enjoyned his Scholars, and Propagation of their Doctrines by Tradition, rather than Letters, and Abſtinence from all Meats, that

that had Animal Life, introduced by *Pythagoras*. The Eternity of Matter, with perpetual changes of Form, the Indolence of Body, and Tranquility of Mind, by *Epicurus*. And among those of *Lycurgus*; the care of Education from the Birth of Children, the *Austere* Temperance of Diet, the patient endurance of Toil and Pain, the neglect or contempt of Life, the use of Gold and Silver only in their Temples, the Defence of Commerce with Strangers, and several others, by him established among the *Spartans*, seem all to be wholly *Indian*, and different from any Race or Vein of Thought and Imagination, that have ever appeared in *Greece*, either in that Age or any since.

It may look like a Paradox, to deduce Learning, from Regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude. And 'tis true, the generality of People, were always so, in those *Eastern* Countries, and their lives wholly turned to Agriculture, to Mechanicks, or to Trades: but this does not hinder, particular Races or Successions of Men, (the design of whose thought and time, was turned wholly to Learning and Knowledge) from having been, what

they are reepreſented, and what they deſerve to be eſteemed; ſince among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themſelves, there have been ſuch Races of men under the Names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amautas*, *Runers*, and other barbarous Appellations.

Beſides, I know no Circumſtances, like to Contribute more to the advancement of Knowledge and Learning among men, than exact Temperance in their Races, great pureneſs of Air, and equality of Clymate, long Tranquility of Empire or Government: And all theſe, we may juſtly allow to thoſe *Eaſtern* Regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at leaſt till the Conqueſts made by the *Tartars*, upon both *India* and *China*, in the later Centuries. However it may be as pardonable, to derive ſome parts of Learning from thence, as to go ſo far, for the Game of *Cheſs*, which ſome Curious and Learned men, have deduced, from *India* into *Europe*, by Two ſeveral Roads, that is, by *Perſia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia* into *Africk* and *Spain*.

Thus much I thought, might be allowed me to ſay, for the giving ſome Idæa, of what thoſe Sages or Learned Men,

Men, were, or may have been, who were Ancients to thoſe that are Ancients to us. Now to obſerve, what theſe have been, is more eaſy and obvious. The moſt ancient *Grecians*, that we are at all acquainted with, after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly, a great Philoſopher as well as Law-giver, were the ſeven Sages. Tho' the Court of *Cræſus*, is ſaid to have been much reſorted to, by the Sophiſts of *Greece*, in the happy beginnings of his Reign. And ſome of theſe ſeven, ſeem to have brought moſt of the Sciences out of *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia*, into *Greece*, particularly, thoſe of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*. Theſe were ſoon followed, by *Pythagoras*, (who ſeems to have introduced Natural and Moral Philoſophy) and by ſeveral of his followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But of all theſe, there remains nothing in Writing now among us; ſo that *Hyppocrates*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, are the firſt *Philoſophers*, whoſe works have eſcaped the injuries of time. But that we may not conclude, the firſt Writers we have of the *Grecians*, were the firſt Learned or Wiſe among them; We ſhall find upon inquiry, that the more

ancient

ancient Sages of *Greece*, appear by the Characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater Men. They were generally, Princes or Law-givers of their Countries, or at leaſt offered and invited to be ſo, either of their own or of others, that deſired them to frame or reform their ſeveral Inſtitutions of Civil Government. They were commonly excellent Poets, and great Phyſicians; they were ſo learned in Natural Philoſophy, that they fore-told, not only Eclypſes in the Heavens, but Earthquakes at Land, and Storms at Sea, great Drowths and great Plagues, much Plenty, or much Scarcity of certain ſorts of Fruits or Grain, not to mention the Magical Powers, attributed to ſeveral of them, to allay Storms, to raiſe Gales, to appeaſe Commotions of People, to make Plagues ceaſe; which qualities, whether upon any ground of Truth or no, yet if well believed, muſt have raiſed them, to that ſtrange height they were at, of common eſteem and honour, in their own and ſucceeding Ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our Moderns or our Ancients, may have had the greater and the bet-

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ter Guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more application in the purſuit of Knowledge. And I think, it is enough to ſhew, that the advantage we have, from thoſe we call the Ancients, may not be greater, than what they had, from thoſe that were ſo to them.

But after all, I do not know, whether the high flights of Wit and Knowledge, like thoſe of Power and of Empire in the World, may not have been made by the pure Native Force of Spirit or Genius, in ſome ſingle men, rather than by any derived ſtrength among them, however encreaſed by Succeſſion; and whether they may not have been the Atchievements of Nature, rather than the improvements of Art. Thus the Conqueſts of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamerlane*, which I take to have been the greateſt, Recorded in Story, were at their heighth, in thoſe Perſons that began them, and ſo far from being encreaſed by their Succeſſors, that they were not preſerved in their extent and vigour by any of them; grew weaker in every hand they paſſed through, or were divided into many, that ſet

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up for great Princes, out of several small ruins of the First Empires, till they withered away in time, or were lost by the change of Names and Forms of Families or of Governments.

Just the same Fate seems to have attended the highest flights of Learning and of Knowledge, that are upon our Registers. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, were the first mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our World, and made greater progresses in the several Empires of Science, than any of their Successors have been since able to reach. These have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and not able to compass that it self, they have set up for Authors, upon some parcels of those great Stocks, or else have contented themselves only to comment upon those Texts, and make the best Copies they could, after those Originals.

I have long thought, that the different abilities of Men, which we call Wisdom, or Prudence, for the conduct of Publick Affairs or Private Life, grow directly out of that little grain of Intellect

tellect or Good Senſe, which they bring with them into the World; and that the defect of it in Men, comes from ſome want in their Conception or Birth.

——*Dixitq; ſemel Naſcentibus Author:*
Quicquid ſcire licet——

And though this may be improved or impaired in ſome degree, by accidents of Education, of Study, and of Converſation or Buſineſs, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of its Native Force, no more than Life can, beyond the period to which it was deſtined, by the ſtrength or weakneſs of the ſeminal Vertue.

If theſe ſpeculations ſhould be true, then I know not what advantages we can pretend to modern Knowledge, by any we receive from the Ancients; Nay, 'ts poſſible, men may loſe rather than gain by them, may leſſen the Force and Growth of their own Genius, by conſtraining and forming it upon that of others; may have leſs Knowledge of their own, for contenting themſelves with that of thoſe before them. So a Man that only Tranſlates,

ſhall

ſhall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that Swims always with Bladders. So People that truſt wholly to others Charity, and without Induſtry of their own, will be always poor. Beſides, who can tell, whether Learning may not even weaken Invention, in a man that has great Advantages from Nature and Birth; whether the weight and number of ſo many other mens thoughts and notions, may not ſuppreſs his own, or hinder the motion and agitation of them, from which all Invention ariſes; As heaping on Wood, or too many Sticks, or too cloſe together, ſuppreſſes and ſometimes quite extinguiſhes, a little ſpark that would otherwiſe have grown up to a noble Flame. The ſtrength of mind as well as of body, grows more from the warmth of Exercife, than of Cloaths, nay, too much of this Foreign heat, rather makes Men faint, and their Conſtitutions tender or weaker, than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are Dwarfs, we are ſtill ſo, though we ſtand upon a Gyant's ſhoulders, and even ſo placed, yet we ſee leſs than he, if we are naturally

turally ſhorter ſighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazled with the height, which often happens from weakneſs either of Heart or Brain.

In the growth and ſtature of Souls as well as Bodies, the common productions are of indifferent ſizes, that occaſion no gazing nor no wonder; But there are or have been, ſometimes Dwarfs and ſometimes Gyants in the World, yet it does not follow, that there muſt be ſuch in every Age nor in every Country; This we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, becauſe there are none now, at leaſt in the compaſs of our preſent Knowledge or Inquiry. As I believe, there may have been Gyants at ſome time, and ſome place or other in the World, of ſuch a ſtature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again, in ſeveral Thouſands of Years, or in any other Parts; ſo there may be Gyans in Wit and Knowledge, of ſo over-grown a ſize, as not to be equalled again in many ſucceſſions of Ages, or any compaſs of Place or Country. Such, I am ſure, *Lucretius* eſteems and deſcribes *Epicurus* to have been,

and

and to have riſen, like a Prodigy of Invention and Knowledge, ſuch as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not, why others of the Ancients, may not be allowed to have been as great in their kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different Schemes or Foundations. Becauſe there is a Stag's head at *Amboyſe*, of a moſt prodigious ſize, and a large Table at *Memorancy*, cut out of the thickneſs of a Vine-ſtock, is it neceſſary, that there muſt be, every Age, ſuch a Stag in every great Foreſt, or ſuch a Vine in every large Vineyard, or that the Productions of Nature in any kind, muſt be ſtill alike or ſomething near it, becauſe Nature is ſtill the ſame? May there not many circumſtances concur, to one production, that do not to any other, in one or many Ages? In the growth of a Tree, there is the native ſtrength of the ſeed both from the kind, and from the perfection of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the Plant that bore it. There is the degree of ſtrength and excellence, in that Vein of Earth where it firſt took root; There is a propriety of Soyl, ſuited to the kind

of

of Tree that grows in it, there is a great favour or dis-favour to its growth, from accidents of Water and of Shelter, from the kindneſs or unkindneſs of Seaſons, till it be paſt the need or the danger of them. All theſe, and perhaps many others, joyned with the propitiouſneſs of Clymat, to that ſort of Tree, and the length of Age it ſhall ſtand and grow, may produce an Oak, a Fig, or a Plane-tree, that ſhall deſerve to be renowned in Story, and ſhall not perhaps be parallel'd, in other Countrys or Times.

May not the ſame have happened in the production, growth, and ſize, of Wit and Genius in the World, or in ſome Parts or Ages of it, and from many more circumſtances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the ſtupendious growth of a Tree or Animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, ſuch prodigies of Invention and Learning in *Philoſophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Phyſick*, *Oratory*, *Poetry*, that none has ever ſince approached them, as well as there were in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*, and yet their unparallel'd and inimitable excellencies in theſe are undiſputed.

Science and Arts, have run their circles, and had their periods in the ſeveral Parts of the World; They are generally agreed, to have held their courſe from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, to have begun in *Chaldæa* and *Ægypt*, to have been Tranſplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome*, to have ſunk there, and after many Ages, to have revived from thoſe Aſhes, and to have ſprung up again, both in *Italy* and other more *Weſtern* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldæa* and *Ægypt* were Learned and Civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Ægypt* and *Syria* now are, and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their heights, in Arts and Science, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any Parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

Theſe, and greater changes, are made in the ſeveral Countries of the World, and courſes of time, by the Revolutions of Empire, the Devaſtations of Armies, the Cruelties of Conquering, and the Calamities of enſlaved Nations; by the violent inundations of Water in ſome Countries, and the Cruel Ravages of Plagues in others: Theſe ſorts of accidents,

cidents, ſometimes lay them ſo waſte, that when they riſe again, 'tis from ſuch low beginnings, that they look like New-Created Regions, or growing out of the Original State of Mankind, and without any Records or Remembrances, beyond certain ſhort periods of time. Thus, that vaſt Continent of *Norway*, is ſaid to have been ſo wholly deſolated by a Plague, about Eight or Nine Hundred Years ago, that it was for ſome Ages following, a very Deſart, and ſince all over-grown with Wood; And *Ireland* was ſo ſpoiled and waſted by the Conqueſts of the *Scutes* and *Danes*, that there hardly remains any Story or Tradition, what that Iſland was, how Planted or Governed above Five Hundred Years ago. What changes have been made by Violent Storms, and Inundations of the Sea, in the Maritine Provinces of the *Low Countrys*, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us, of all that paſſed there, before a certain and ſhort period of time.

The Accounts of many other Countries, would perhaps, as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the Depths

of Time, and Gulphs of Ignorance, had it not been for the Assistance of those two Languages, to which we owe all we have, of Learning or Ancient Records in the World. For whether we have any thing of the Old *Chaldæan*, *Hebrew*, *Arabian*, that is truly Genuine, or more Ancient than the *Augustan* Age, I am much in doubt; yet 'tis probable, the vast *Alexandrian* Library must have chiefly consisted of Books composed in those Languages, with the *Ægyptian*, *Syrian* and *Æthiopick*, or at least, Translated out of them by the Care of the *Ægyptian* Kings or Priests, as the *Old Testament* was wherein the *Septuagints* employed, left their Name to that Famous Translation.

'Tis very true and just, All that is said of the mighty Progress that Learning and Knowledge have made in these *Western* Parts of *Europe*, within these hundred and fifty Years; but that does not conclude, it must be at greater Heighth than it had been in other Countries, where it was growing much longer Periods of Time; it argues more how low it was then amongst us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon

Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, almoſt all Learning was buried in its Ruines: The *Northern* Nations that Conquered, or rather overwhelmed it by their Numbers, were too barbarous to preſerve the Remains of Learning or Civility, more carefully than they did thoſe of Statuary or Architecture, which fell before their Brutiſh Rage. The *Saracens* indeed from their Conqueſts of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, carried home great Spoils of Learning, as well as other Riches, and gave the Original of all that Knowledge, which flouriſhed for ſome time among the *Arabians*, and has ſince been copied out of many Authors among them, as theirs had been out of thoſe of the Countries they had ſubdued; nor indeed, do Learning, Civility, Morality, ſeem any where to have made a greater Growth, in ſo ſhort a Time, than in that Empire, nor to have flouriſhed more than in the Reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whoſe Victorious Enſigns, *Spain* was Conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the reſt of thoſe *Scythian* Swarms that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under ſo many ſeveral Names, over-

run all *Europe*, took very hardly, and very late, any Tincture of the Learning and Humanity that had flouriſhed in the ſeveral Regions of it, under the Protection, and by the Example and Inſtructions of the *Romans*, that had ſo long poſſeſſed them: Thoſe *Northern* Nations were indeed eaſier induced to embrace the Religion of thoſe they had ſubdued, and by their Devotion gave great Authority and Revenues, and thereby Eaſe to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, through all their Conqueſts. Great Numbers, of the better ſort, among the Oppreſſed Natives, finding this vein among them, and no other way to be ſafe and quiet under ſuch rough Maſters, betook themſelves to the Profeſſion and Aſſemblies of Religious Orders and Fraternities, and among thoſe onely were preſerved all the poor Remainders of Learning, in theſe ſeveral Countries.

But theſe good men either contented themſelves with their Devotion, or with the Eaſe of quiet Lives, or elſe employed their Thoughts and Studies to raiſe and maintain the Eſteem and Authority of that Sacred Order, to which they owed the Safety and Repoſe,

poſe, the Wealth and Honour they enjoyed. And in this they ſo well ſucceeded, that the Conquerors were governed by thoſe they had ſubdued, the Greateſt Princes by the Meaneſt Prieſts, and the Victorious *Franks* and *Lombard* Kings, fell at the feet of the *Roman* Prelates.

Whilſt the Clergy were buſied in theſe Thoughts or Studies, the better ſort among the Laity were wholly turned to Arms and to Honour, the meaner ſort to Labour or to Spoil; Princes taken up with Wars among themſelves, or in thoſe of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors, upon Diſputes of the Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Powers; Learning ſo little in uſe among them, that few could write or read, beſides thoſe of the Long Robes. During this Courſe of Time, which laſted many Ages in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, The *Greek* Tongue was wholly loſt, and the Purity of the *Roman* to that degree, that what remained of it, was onely a certain Jargon rather than Latin, that paſſed among the *Monks* and *Fryers* who were at all Learned, and among the Students of the ſeveral

Universities, which served to carry them to *Rome*, in pursuit of Preferments or Causes depending there, and little else.

When the *Turks* took *Constantinople*, about two hundred Years ago, and soon after possessed themselves of all *Greece*, the poor Natives fearing the Tyranny of those cruel Masters, made their Escapes in great Numbers to the Neighbouring parts of Christendom, some by the *Austrian* Territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*; several that were Learned among these *Grecians*, (and brought many Ancient Books with them in that Language) began to teach it in these Countries, first to gain subsistence, and afterwards Favour in some Princes, or Great mens Courts, who began to take a Pleasure or Pride in countenancing Learned men: Thus began the Restoration of Learning in these parts, with that of the *Greek* Tongue; and soon after, *Reuchlyn* and *Erasmus* began that of the purer and ancient Latin. After them, *Buchanan* carried it, I think, to the greatest Heighth of any of the Moderns before or since: The *Monkish* Latin upon this Return,

Return, was laughed out of doors, and remains only in the Inns of *Germany* or *Poland*; and with the Reſtitution of theſe two Noble Languages, and the Books remaining of them (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) Learning of all ſorts began to thrive in theſe *Weſtern* Regions; and ſince that time, and in the firſt ſucceeding Century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of, in ſuch a compaſs of Time, conſidering into what Depths of Ignorance it was ſunk before.

But why from thence ſhould be concluded, That it has out-grown all that was Ancient, I ſee no Reaſon; If a Strong and Vigorous man, at Thirty Years old, ſhould fall into a Conſumption, and ſo draw on till Fifty, in the extreameſt Weakneſs and Infirmity; after that, ſhould begin to Recover Health till Sixty, ſo as to be again as Strong, as men uſually are at that Age; It might perhaps truly be ſaid, in that caſe, that he had grown more in Strength, that laſt Ten Years, than any others of his Life, but not that he was grown to more Strength and Vi-

gour,

gour, than he had at Thirty Years old.

But what are the Sciences, wherein we pretend to exeel? I know of no New Philosophers, that have made Entries upon that Noble Stage, for Fifteen Hundred Years past, unless *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* should pretend to it, of whom I shall make no Critick here, but only say, That by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have by no means eclypsed the Lustre of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients. For Gramar or Rhetorick, no man ever disputed it with them, nor for Poetry, that ever I heard of, besides the New *French* Author I have mentioned, and against whose Opinion there could, I think, never have been given stronger Evidence than by his own Poems, Printed together with that Treatise.

There is nothing New in *Astronomy*, to vye with the Ancients, unless it be the *Copernican* System; nor in *Physick*, unless *Hervy*'s Circulation of the blood. But whether either of these be modern discoveries, or derived from old Fountains, is disputed; Nay it is so too, whether they are true or no;

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for though reaſon may ſeem to favour them more than the contrary Opinions, yet ſenſe can very hardly allow them; and to ſatisfie Mankind, both theſe muſt concur. But if they are true, yet theſe two great diſcoveries have made no change in the concluſions of *Aſtronomy*, nor in the practiſe of Phyſick, and ſo have been of little uſe to the World, though perhaps of much honour to the Authors.

What are become of the Charms of Muſick, by which Men and Beaſts, Fiſhes, Fowls, and Serpents, were ſo frequently Enchanted, and their very Natures changed; By which the Paſſions of men were raiſed to the greateſt heigth and violence, and then as ſuddenly appeaſed, ſo as they might be juſtly ſaid, to be turned into Lyons or Lambs, into Wolves or into Harts, by the Power and Charms of this admirable Art. 'Tis agreed by the Learned, that the Science of Muſick, ſo admired of the Ancients, is wholly loſt in the World, and that what we have now, is made up out of certain Notes that fell into the fancy or obſervation of a poor *Fryar*, in chanting his Mattins. So as thoſe Two Divine Excellencies

cellencies of Muſick and Poetry, are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one Fidling, and the other Rhyming, and are indeed very worthy the ignorance of the Fryer, and the barbarouſneſs of the *Goths* that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of *Magick*, by which, the *Indians*, the *Chaldæans*, the *Ægyptians*, were ſo renowned, and by which, effects ſo wonderful, and to common men ſo aſtoniſhing were produced, as made them have recourſe to Spirits or Supernatural Powers for ſome account of their ſtrange Operations. By *Magick*, I mean ſome excelling knowledge of Nature, and the various Powers and Qualities, in its ſeveral productions, and the application of certain Agents, to certain Patients, which by force of ſome peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar Obſervation or Comprehenſion. Theſe are by ignorant People called *Magick* and *Conjuring*, and ſuch like Terms, and an Account of them much about as wiſe, is given by the common Learned, from *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, *Idioſyncraſys*, *Taliſmans*, and ſome ſcraps

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or Terms, left us by the *Ægyptians* or *Grecians*, of the Ancient Magick, but the Science ſeems, with ſeveral others, to be wholly loſt.

What Traces have we left of that admirable Science or Skill in Architecture, by which, ſuch ſtupendious Fabricks have been raiſed of old, and ſo many of the Wonders of the World been produced, and which are ſo little approached by our Modern Atchievements of this ſort, that they hardly fall within our Imagination. Not to mention the Walls and Palace of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, the Tomb of *Mauſolus*, or *Colloſſe* of *Rhodes*; the Temples and Palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: What can be more admirable in this kind, than the *Roman* Theatres, their Aqueducts, and their Bridges, among which, that of *Trajan* over the *Danube*, ſeems to have been the laſt Flight of the Ancient Architecture. The ſtupendious Effects of this Science, ſufficiently evince, at what Heighths the Mathematicks were among the Ancients; but if this be not enough, whoever would be ſatisfied, need go no further than the Siege of *Syracuſe*, and that mighty Defence made againſt the

Roman

Roman Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almoſt Magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants.

The greateſt Invention that I know of in later Ages, has been that of the Load-Stone, and conſequently, the greateſt Improvement has been made in the Art of Navigation; yet there muſt be allowed to have been ſomething ſtupendious in the Numbers, and in the Built of their Ships and Gallies of old; and the Skill of Pylots, from the Obſervation of the Stars in the more ſerene Clymates, may be judged, by the Navigations ſo celebrated in Story, of the *Tyrians* and *Carthagenians*, not to mention other Nations. However, 'tis to this we owe the Diſcovery and Commerce of ſo many vaſt Countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the Ancients, and the experimental Proof of this Terreſtrial Globe, which was before only Speculation, but has ſince been ſurrounded by the Fortune and Boldneſs of ſeveral Navigators. From this great, though fortuitous Invention,

tion, and the conſequence thereof, it muſt be allowed, that Geography is mightily advanced in theſe latter Ages. The Vaſt Continents of *China*, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, the long Extent and Coaſts of *Africa*, with the numberleſs Iſlands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our Acquaintance, and our Maps, and great Increaſes of Wealth and Luxury, but none of Knowledge brought among us, further than the extent and ſituation of Country, the cuſtoms and manners of ſo many original Nations, which we call Barbarous, and I am ſure have treated them, as if we hardly eſteem them to be a part of Mankind. I do not doubt, but many Great and more Noble Uſes would have been made of ſuch Conqueſts or Diſcoveries, if they had fallen to the ſhare of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in thoſe Ages, when Knowledge and Fame were in as great Requeſt, as endleſs Gains and Wealth are among us now; and how much greater Diſcoveries might have been made by ſuch Spirits as theirs, is hard to gueſs. I am ſure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to to what the Face of this

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Terrestrial Globe would probably appear, if they had been pursued as far as we might justly have expected from the Progresses of Navigation, since the Use of the Compass, which seems to have been long at a stand. How little has been performed, of what has been so often, and so confidently promised, of a *North-West* Passage to the *East* of *Tartary*, and *North* of *China*? How little do we know of the Lands on that side of the *Magellan Straits*, that lye towards the *South Pole*, which may be vast Islands or Continents, for ought any can yet aver, though that Passage was so long since found out? Whether *Japan* be Island or Continent, with some parts of *Tartary*, on the *North* side, is not certainly agreed. The Lands of *Tedso*, upon the *North-East* Continent, have been no more than Coasted, and whether they may not joyn to the *Northern* Continent of *America*, is by some doubted.

But the Defect of Negligence seems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond Thirty Five Degrees, and that only, by the Necessity of doubling the Cape of *Goodhope*, in our *East-India* Voyages;

ages; yet a Continent has been long ſince found out, within Fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is Marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent, none knows, either to the *South*, the *Eaſt*, or the *Weſt*; yet the Learned have been of Opinion, That there muſt be a Ballance of Earth, on that ſide of the Line, in ſome Proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all *Sea*, from Thirty Degrees to the *South-Pole*, ſince we have found Land to above Sixty Five Degrees towards the *North*. But our Navigators that way, have been confined to the Roads of Trade; and our Diſcoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain Degree of Gain. And I have heard it ſaid among the *Dutch*, that their *Eaſt-India*-Company have long ſince forbidden, and under the greateſt Penalties, any further Attempts of diſcovering that Continent, having already more Trade in thoſe Parts, than they can turn to Account, and fearing ſome more Populous Nation of *Europe*, might make great Eſtabliſhments of Trade in ſome of thoſe un-

known Regions which might ruine or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus we are lame ſtill in Geography it ſelf, which we might have expected to run up to ſo much greater Perfection, by the Uſe of the Compaſs, and it ſeems to have been little advanced theſe laſt Hundred Years. So far have we been from improving upon thoſe Advantages we have received, from the Knowledge of the Ancients, that ſince the late Reſtoration of Learning and Arts among us, our firſt Flights ſeem to have been the higheſt, and a ſudden Damp to have fallen upon our Wings, which has hindered us from riſing above certain Heights. The Arts of Painting and Statuary, began to revive with Learning in *Europe*, and made a great, but ſhort Flight; ſo as for theſe laſt Hundred Years, we have not had One Maſter in either of them, who deſerved a Rank with thoſe that flouriſhed in that ſhort Period, after they began among us.

It were too great a Mortification to think, That the ſame Fate has happened to us, even in our Modern Learning,

Learning, as if the Growth of that, as well as of Natural Bodies, had ſome ſhort Periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which, it muſt begin to decay. It falls in one Country or one Age, and riſes again in others, but never beyond a certain Pitch. One man, or one Country, at a certain Time runs a great Length in ſome certain Kinds of Knowledge, but loſe as much Ground in others, that were perhaps as uſeful and as valuable. There is a certain Degree of Capacity in the greateſt Veſſel, and when 'tis full, if you pour in ſtill, it muſt run out ſome way or other; and the more it runs out on one ſide, the leſs runs out at the other. So the greateſt Memory, after a certain Degree, as it learns or retains more of ſome Things or Words, loſes and forgets as much of others. The largeſt and deepeſt Reach of Thought, the more it purſues ſome certain Subjects, the more it neglects others.

Beſides, few men or none excel in all Faculties of Mind. A great Memory may fail of Invention, both may want Judgment to Digeſt or Apply, what they Remember or Invent. Great

Courage may want Caution, great Prudence may want Vigour, yet all are neceſſary to make a great Commander. But how can a man hope, to excel in all qualities, when ſome are produced by the heat, others by the coldneſs of Brain and Temper? The abilities of man muſt fall ſhort on one ſide or other, like too ſcanty a Blanket when you are a Bed, if you pull it upon your Shoulders, you leave your Feet bare; if you thruſt it down upon your Feet, your Shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unleſs it be other Natures and Beings than God Almighty has given us. The heigth of our Statures may be ſix or ſeven Foot, and we would have it ſixteen; the length of our Age may reach to a hundred Years, and we would have it a thouſand. We are born to grovel upon the Earth, and we would fain ſoar up to the Skies. We cannot comprehend the growth of a Kernel or Seed, the Frame of an *Ant* or *Bee*, we are amazed at the Wiſdom of the one, and Induſtry of the other, and yet we will know the Subſtance, the Figure, the Courſes, the Influences, of all

all thoſe Glorious Cœleſtial Bodies, and the end for which they were made; we pretend to give a clear Account, how Thunder and Lightning (that great Artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the Voice of a man is Framed, that poor little noiſe we make every time we ſpeak. The motion of the Sun, is plain and evident to ſome Aſtronomers, and of the Earth to others, yet we none of us know, which of them moves, and meet with many ſeeming impoſſibilities in both, and beyond the fathom of human reaſon or comprehenſion. Nay we do not ſo much as know what Motion is, nor how a ſtone moves from our hand, when we throw it croſs the Street. Of all theſe that moſt Ancient and Divine Writer, gives the beſt Account in that ſhort Satyr, *Vain man would fain be wiſe, when he is born like a wild Aſſes Colt.*

But God be thanked, his Pride is greater than his ignorance; and what he wanrs in Knowledge, he ſupplies by Sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be ſeen; when he is at

the end of his Line, he is at the bottom of the Ocean; when he has ſhot his beſt, he is ſure, none ever did nor ever can ſhoot better or beyond it. His own Reaſon is the certain meaſure of truth, his own Knowledge, of what is poſſible in Nature, though his mind and his thoughts change every ſeven Years, as well as his ſtrength and his features; nay, though his Opinions change every Week or every Day, yet he is ſure, or at leaſt confident, that his preſent thoughts and concluſions are juſt and true, and cannot be deceived; And among all the miſeries, to which mankind is born and ſubjected, in the whole courſe of his life, he has this one Felicity to Comfort and Support him, That in all ages, in all things, every man is always in the right. A Boy of fifteen is wiſer than his Father at forty, the meaneſt Subject than his Prince or Governours; and the modern Scholars, becauſe they have for a Hundred Years paſt learned their Leſſon pretty well, are much more knowing than the Ancients their Maſters.

But let it be ſo, and proved by good reaſons, Is it ſo by experience too?

too? Have the Studies, the Writings, the Productions of *Greſham* Colledge, or the late Academies of *Paris*, outſhined or eclypſed the Lycæum of *Plato*, the Academy of *Ariſtotle*, the Stoa of *Zeno*, the Garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Hervy* outdone *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D'avila*'s and *Strada*'s Hiſtories beyond thoſe of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyden*'s Commentaries beyond thoſe of *Cæſar*? The Flights of *Boileau* above thoſe of *Virgil*? If all this muſt be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excelled *Homer*, as it pretended; and the modern *French* Poetry, all that of the Ancients. And yet I think, it may be as reaſonably ſaid, That the Plays in *Moor-Fields* are beyond the *Olympick* Games; A *Welſh* or *Iriſh* Harp, excels thoſe of *Orpheus* and *Arion*; The Pyramid in *London*, thoſe of *Memphis*; and the *French* Conqueſts in *Flanders* are greater than thoſe of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, as their Opera's and Panegyricks would make us believe.

But the Conſideration of Poetry ought to be a Subject by it ſelf. For the Books we have in Proſe, Do any

of the modern we Converſe with, appear of ſuch a Spirit and Force, as if they would live longer than the Ancient have done? If our Wit and Eloquence, our knowledge or Inventions would deſerve it, yet our Languages would not, there is no hope of their laſting long, nor of any thing in them, they change every Hundred Years ſo as to be hardly known for the ſame, or any thing of the former Styles to be endured by the later; ſo as they can no more laſt like the Ancients, than excellent Carvings in Wood like thoſe in Marble or Braſs.

The three modern Tongues moſt eſteemed, are *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *French*, all imperfect Dialects of the Noble *Roman*; firſt mingled and corrupted with the harſh Words and Terminations of thoſe many different and barbarous Nations, by whoſe Invaſions and Excurſions, the *Roman* Empire was long infeſted: They were afterwards made up into theſe ſeveral Languages, by long and popular uſe, out of thoſe ruins and corruptions of *Latin*, and the prevailing Languages of thoſe Nations, to which, theſe ſeveral Provinces came in time to be moſt and longeſt ſubjected

jected (as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*) besides a mingle of those Tongues, which were Original to *Gaul* and to *Spain*, before the *Roman* Conquests and Establishments there. Of these, there may be some remainders in *Biscay* or the *Asturias*; but I doubt, whether there be any of the old *Gallick* in *France*, the subjection there having been more Universal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find, the Mountainous Parts on the *North* of *Spain*, were ever wholly subdued, or formerly Governed, either by the *Romans*, *Goths*, or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, after their Conquests in our Islands, which has preserved the ancient *Biscayn* and *British* more entire, than any Native Tongue of other Provinces, where the *Roman* and *Gothick* or *Northern* Conquests reached, and were for any time Established.

'Tis easy to imagine, how imperfect Copies these modern Languages, thus composed, must needs be, of so excellent an Original, being patcht up, out of the Conceptions as well as Sounds, of such barbarous or enslaved

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People. Whereas the *Latin* was framed or cultivated, by the thoughts and uſes of the Nobleſt Nation that appears upon any Record of Story, and enriched only by the Spoyls of *Greece*, which alone could pretend to conteſt it with them. 'Tis obvious enough, what rapport there is, and muſt ever be, between the thoughts and words, the Conceptions and Languages of every Country, and how great a difference this muſt make in the Compariſon and Excellence of Books; and how eaſy and juſt a preference it muſt decree, to thoſe of the *Greek* and *Latin*, before any of the modern Languages.

It may perhaps, be further affirmed, in Favour of the Ancients, that the oldeſt Books we have, are ſtill in their kind the beſt. The two moſt ancient, that I know of in Proſe, among thoſe we call prophane Authors, are *Æſop*'s Fables, and *Phalaris*'s Epiſtles, both living near the ſame time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the firſt has been agreed by all Ages ſince, for the greateſt Maſter in his kind, and all others of that ſort, have been but imitati-

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ons of his Original; ſo I think the Epiſtles of *Phalaris*, to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ever ſeen, either ancient or modern. I know ſeveral Learned men (or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the Name of Criticks) have not eſteemed them Genuine, and *Politian* with ſome others, have attributed them to *Lucian*: But I think, he muſt have little skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original; ſuch diverſity of Paſſions, upon ſuch variety of Actions, and Paſſages of Life and Government, ſuch Freedom of Thought, ſuch Boldneſs of Expreſſion, ſuch Bounty to his Friends, ſuch Scorn of his Enemies, ſuch Honour of Learned men, ſuch eſteem of Good, ſuch Knowledge of Life, ſuch Contempt of Death, with ſuch Fierceneſs of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be repreſented, but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem *Lucian* to have been no more Capable of Writing, than of Acting what *Phalaris* did. In all one Writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophiſt; and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

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The next to these in Time, are *Herodotus*, *Thucidides*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*; of whom I shall say no more, than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their several kinds, inimitable. So are *Cæsar*, *Salust*, and *Cicero*, in theirs, who are the Ancientest of the Latin, (I speak still of Prose) unless it be some little of old *Cato*, upon Rustick Affairs.

The Height and Purity of the *Roman* Style, as it began towards the Time of *Lucretius*, which was about that of the *Jugurthin* War; so it ended about that of *Tyberius*; and the last strain of it, seems to have been *Velleius Paterculus*. The Purity of the *Greek* lasted a great deal longer, and must be allowed till *Trajan*'s Time, when *Plutarch* wrote, whose Greek is much more esteemable, than the Latin of *Tacitus* his Contemporary. After this last, I know none that deserves the Name of *Latin*, in comparison of what went before them, especially in the *Augustan* Age; If any, 'tis the little Treatise of *Minutius Fælix*. All Latin Books that we have till the end of *Trajan*, and all Greek

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till the end of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very eſteemable value. All written ſince that time, ſeem to me to have little more than what comes from the Relation of Events, we are glad to know, or the Controverſy of Opinions in Religion or Laws, wherein the buſie World has been ſo much imployed.

The great Wits among the moderns have been, in my Opinion, and in their ſeveral kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes*, (that writ *Don Quixot*) and *Guevara*; among the *French*, *Rablais*, and *Montagne*; among the *Engliſh*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, *Bacon* and *Selden*: I mention nothing of what is written upon the Subject of Divinity, wherein the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* Pens have been moſt Converſant, and moſt Excelled. The modern *French*, are *Voiture*, *Rochfaucalt's* Memoirs, *Buſſy's Amours de Gaul*, with ſeveral other little Relations or Memoirs that have run this Age, which are very pleaſant and entertaining, and ſeem to have Refined the *French* Language to a degree, that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does in

in all Works, that the more they are filed and poliſhed, the leſs they have of weight and of ſtrength; and as that Language has much more fineneſs and ſmoothneſs at this time, ſo I take it, to have had much more force, ſpirit and compaſs, in *Montagne*'s Age.

Since thoſe accidents, which contributed to the Reſtoration of Learning, almoſt extinguiſhed in the *Weſtern* parts of *Europe*, have been obſerved, it will be juſt to mention ſome, that may have hindred the advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty growth and progreſs made in the firſt Age after its recovery. One great reaſon may have been, that very ſoon after the entry of Learning, upon the Scene of Chriſtendom, another was made, by many of the New-Learned men, into the inquiries and conteſts about matters of Religion, the manners and maxims and inſtitutions introduced by the Clergy, for ſeven or eight Centuries paſt, The Authority of Scripture and Tradition, Of Popes and of Councels, Of the ancient Fathers and of the later School-men and Caſuiſts,

Caſuiſts, Of Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power. The humour of ravelling into all theſe myſtical or entangled Matters, mingling with the Intereſts and Paſſions of Princes and of Parties, and thereby heightned or inflamed, produced infinite Diſputes, raiſed violent Heats throughout all Parts of Chriſtendom, and ſoon ended, in many Defections or Reformations from the *Roman* Church, and in ſeveral new Inſtitutions, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in diverſe Countries, which have been ſince Rooted and Eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the *North-Weſt* Parts. The endleſs Diſputes and litigious Quarrels upon all theſe Subjects, favoured and encouraged by the Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes engaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally imployed the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the endeavours of all or moſt of the fineſt Wits, the deepeſt Scholars, and the moſt Learned Writers that the Age produced. Many excellent Spirits, and the moſt penetrating Genys, that might have made admirable Progreſſes and Advances in many other Sciences, were ſunk and overwhelmed in the abyſs of Diſputes,

about

about matters of Religion, without ever turning their Looks or Thoughts any other way. To these Disputes of the Pen, succeeded those of the Sword, and the Ambition of great Princes and Ministers, mingled with the Zeal, or covered with the pretences of Religion, has for a Hundred Years past infested Christendom with almost a perpetual Course or Succession, either of Civil or of Foreign Wars; the noise and disorders thereof, have been ever the most capital Enemies of the *Muses*, who are seated by the ancient Fables, upon the top of *Parnassus*, that is, in a place of safety and of quiet, from the reach of all noises and disturbances of the Regions below.

Another circumstance, that may have hindred the advancement of Learning, has been a want or decay of Favour in great Kings and Princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the first return or recovery of this fair Stranger among us, all were fond of seeing her, apt to applaud her; she was lodged in Palaces instead of Cells, and the greatest Kings and Princes of the Age, took either a pleasure in courting her, or a vanity in admiring her,

her; and in favouring all her Train. The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes* and of *Emperors*, thought themselves Honoured and Adorned, by the Number and Qualities of Learned men, and by all the improvements of Sciences and Arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all Parts, for the Use and Entertainment of Kings, for the Education and Instruction of Young Princes, for Advice and Assistance to the greatest Ministers; and in short, the Favour of Learning was the humour and mode of the Age. *Francis* the First, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth (those three great Rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing else. Many Nobles pursued this Vein with great Application and Success; among whom, *Picus de Mirandula*, a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a Prodigy of Learning, if his Studies and Life had lasted as long as those of the Ancients: For I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he dyed about Three and Thirty, and left the World in admiration of so much knowledge in so much youth.

Since those Reigns I have not observed in our modern Story, any Great Princes much Celebrated for their Favour of Learning, further than to serve their turns, to justifie their Pretensions and Quarrels, or flatter their Successes. The Honour of Princes has of late struck Sale to their Interest; whereas of old, their Interests, Greatness, and Conquests, were all Dedicated to their Glory and Fame.

How much the Studies and Labours of Learned men, must have been damped for want of this influence and kind aspect of Princes, may be best conjectured from what happened on the contrary, about the *August an* Age, when the Learning of *Rome* was at its height, and perhaps owed it in some Degree, to the Bounty and Patronage of that Emperor, and *Mecanas* his Favourite, as well as to the Felicity of the Empire, and Tranquility of the Age.

The humour of Avarice, and greedines of Wealth, have been ever, and in all Countries, where Silver and Gold have been in Price, and of current use; But if it be true in particular Men, that as Riches encrease, the desires of

them

them do ſo too; May it not be true, of the general Vein and Humour of Ages? May they not have turned more to this purſuit of inſatiable gains, ſince the Diſcoveries and Plantations of the *Weſt-Indies*, and thoſe vaſt Treaſures that have flowed in to theſe *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe* almoſt every Year, and with ſuch mighty Tides for ſo long a courſe of time? Where few are rich, few care for it; where many are ſo, many deſire it; and moſt in time begin to think it neceſſary. Where this Opinion grows generally in a Countrey, the Temples of Honour are ſoon pulled down, and all mens Sacrifices are made to thoſe of Fortune. The Souldier as well as the Merchant, the Scholar as well as the Ploughman, the Divine and the States-man, as well as the Lawyer and Phyſician.

Now I think, that nothing is more evident in the World, than that Honour is a much ſtronger Principle, both of Action and Invention, than gain can ever be. That all the Great and Noble Productions of Wit and of Courage, have been inſpired and exalted by that alone. That the Charming Flights and Labours of Poets, the deep

Speculations and Studies of Philoſophers, the Conqueſts of Emperors and Atchievements of Heroes, have all flowed from this one Source of Honour and Fame. The laſt Farewel that *Horace* takes of his Lyrick Poems, *Epicurus* of his Inventions in Philoſophy, *Auguſtus* of his Empire and Government, are all of the ſame ſtrain; and as their Lives were entertained, ſo their Age was relieved, and their Deaths ſoftned, by the Proſpect of lying down upon the Bed of Fame.

Avarice is on the other ſide, of all Paſſions the moſt ſordid, the moſt clogged and covered with dirt and with droſs, ſo that it cannot raiſe its Wings beyond the ſmell of the Earth: 'Tis the Pay of common Soldiers, as Honour is of Commanders, and yet among thoſe themſelves, none ever went ſo far upon the hopes of prey or of ſpoils, as thoſe that have been ſpirited by Honour or Religion. 'Tis no wonder then, that Learning has been ſo little advanced ſince it grew to be mercenary, and the Progreſs of it has been fettered by the cares of the World, and diſturbed by the Deſires of being Rich, or the

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fears of being Poor; from all which, the ancient *Philoſophers*, the *Brachmans* of *India*, the *Chaldæan Magi*, and *Ægyptian* Prieſts were diſentangled and free.

But the laſt maim given to Learning, has been by the ſcorn of Pedantry, which the ſhallow, the ſuperficial, and the ſufficient among Scholars, firſt drew upon themſelves, and very juſtly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more eſteem than what they had could deſerve; by broaching it in all places, at all times, upon all occaſions, and by living ſo much among themſelves, or in their Cloſets and Cells, as to make them unfit for all other buſineſs, and ridiculous in all other Converſations. As an Infection that riſes in a Town, firſt falls upon Children or weak Conſtitutions, or thoſe that are ſubject to other Diſeaſes, but ſpreading further by degrees, ſeizes upon the moſt healthy, vigorous, and ſtrong; and when the Contagion grows very general, all the Neighbours avoid coming into the Town, or are afraid of thoſe that are well among them, as much as of thoſe that are ſick. Juſt ſo it fared in the Com-

monwealth of Learning, ſome poor weak Conſtitutions were firſt infected with Pedantry, the Contagion ſpread in time upon ſome that were ſtronger; Foreigners that heard there was a Plague in the Countrey, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the commerce of the Sound, as well as of the Diſeaſed. This diſlike or apprehenſion turned, like all fear, to hatred, and hatred to ſcorn. The reſt of the Neighbours began firſt to rail at Pedants, then to ridicule them; the Learned began to fear the ſame Fate, and that the Pidgeons ſhould be taken for Daws, becauſe they were all in a Flock: And becauſe the pooreſt and meaneſt of the Company were proud, the beſt and the richeſt began to be aſhamed.

An Ingenious *Spaniard* at *Bruſſels*, would needs have it, that the Hiſtory of *Don Quixot* had ruined the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; For before that time, Love and Valour, were all Romance among them, every young Cavalier that entred the Scene, Dedicated the Services of his Life, to his Honour firſt, and then to his Miſtris. They Lived and Dyed in this Romantick Vein; and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his laſt *Portugal* expedition,

dition, had a young Miſtreſs, to whom, the Glory of that Atchievement was Devoted, by which he hoped to value himſelf, inſtead of thoſe qualities he had loſt with his youth. After *Don Quixot* appeared, and with that inimitable Wit and Humour, turned all this Romantick Honour and Love into Ridicule; the *Spaniards*, he ſaid, began to grow aſhamed of both, and to laugh at Fighting and Loving; or at leaſt otherwiſe, than to purſue their Fortune, or ſatisfy their Luſt; and the conſequences of this, both upon their Bodies and their Minds, this *Spaniard* would needs have paſs for a great Cauſe of the Ruin of *Spain*, or of its Greatneſs and Power.

Whatever effect, the Ridicule of Knight-Errantry might have had upon that Monarchy, I believe that of Pedantry has had a very ill one upon the Commonwealth of Learning; and I wiſh, the Vein of Ridiculing all that is ſerious and good, all Honour and Virtue, as well as Learning and Piety, may have no worſe effects on any other State: 'Tis the Itch of our Age and Clymat, and has over run both the Court and the Stage, enters a Houſe

of Lords and Commons, as boldly as a *Coffee*-House, Debates of Council as well as private Converſation; and I have known in my Life, more than one or two Miniſters of State, that would rather have ſaid a Witty thing, than done a Wiſe one; and made the Company Laugh, rather than the Kingdom Rejoyce. But this is enough to excuſe the imperfections of Learning in our Age, and to cenſure the ſufficiency of ſome of the Learned; and this ſmall Piece of Juſtice I have done the Ancients, will not I hope, be taken any more than 'tis meant, for any injury to the Moderns.

I ſhall Conclude with a ſaying of *Alphonſus* (Sirnamed the Wiſe) King of *Arazon*;

That among ſo many things as are by Men poſſeſſed or purſued in the Courſe of their Lives, all the reſt are Bawbles, Beſides Old Wood to Burn, Old Wine to Drink, Old Friends to Converſe with, and Old Books to Read.

ESSAY II.

Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; *or of Gardening in the Year* 1685.

THE ſame Faculty of Reaſon, which gives Mankind the great Advantage and Prerogative over the reſt of the Creation, ſeems to make the greateſt Default of Humane Nature; and ſubjects it to more Troubles, Miſeries, or at leaſt Diſquiets of Life, than any of its Fellow-Creatures: 'Tis this furniſhes us with ſuch variety of Paſſions, and conſequently of Wants and Deſires, that none other feels; and theſe followed by infinite Deſigns and endleſs Purſuits, and improved by that reſtleſneſs of thought, which is natural to moſt Men, give Him a condition of Life ſuitable to that of His Brith; ſo that as He alone is born crying, He lives complaining, and dies diſappointed.

Since we cannot eſcape the purſuit of Paſſions, and perplexity of Thoughts, which

which our Reaſon furniſhes us, there is no way left, but to endeavour all we can, either to ſubdue or to divert them. This laſt is the common buſineſs of common men, who ſeek it by all ſorts of Sports, Pleaſures, Play, or Buſineſs. But becauſe the two firſt are of ſhort continuance, ſoon ending with wearineſs, or decay of Vigour and Appetite, the return whereof muſt be attended, before the others can be renewed; and becauſe Play grows dull, if it be not enlivened with the Hopes of Gain, the general Diverſion of Mankind ſeems to be Buſineſs, or the purſuit of Riches in one kind or other, which is an amuſement, that has this one advantage above all others, that it laſts thoſe Men who engage in it, to the very ends of their Lives; none ever growing too old for the Thoughts and Deſires of increaſing his Wealth and Fortunes, either for Himſelf, his Friends, or his Poſterity.

In the firſt and moſt ſimple Ages of each Country, the Conditions and Lives of men ſeem to have been very near of Kin with the reſt of the Creatures; they lived by the Hour, or by the Day, and ſatisfied their Appetite with what they could get, from the Herbs, the Fruits, the Springs they met with when they were

were hungry or dry; then, with what Fiſh, Fowl or Beaſts they could kill, by Swiftneſs or Strength, by Craft or Contrivance, by their Hands or ſuch Inſtruments as Wit helped, or Neceſſity forced them to invent. When a man had got enough for the day, He laid up the reſt for the morrow, and ſpent one day in labour, that He might paſs the other at eaſe; and lured on by the Pleaſure of this Bait, when He was in Vigour, and His Game fortunate, He would provide for as many days as He could, both for Himſelf and His Children, that were too young to ſeek out for themſelves. Then He caſt about, how by ſowing of Grain, and by Paſture of the tamer Cattel, to provide for the whole year. After this, dividing the Lands neceſſary for theſe Uſes, firſt among Children, and then among Servants, He reſerved to Himſelf a Proportion of their Gain, either in the native Stock, or ſomething equivalent, which brought in the uſe of Mony; and where this once came in, none was to be ſatisfied, without having enough for Himſelf and His Family, and all His and their Poſterity for ever; ſo that I know a certain Lord who profeſſes to value no Leaſe, though for an hundred or a thouſand years, nor any

Eſtate

Eſtate or Poſſeſſion of Land that is not for ever and ever.

From ſuch ſmall Beginnings have grown ſuch vaſt and extravagant Deſigns of poor mortal men: Yet none could ever anſwer the naked Indian, Why one man ſhould take pains, and run Hazards by Sea and Land all his Life, that his Children might be ſafe and lazy all theirs: And the Precept of taking no care for to morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the World, ſeems but to reduce Mankind to their natural and original Condition of Life. However by theſe ways and degrees the endleſs increaſe of riches ſeems to be grown the perpetual and general amuſement or buſineſs of Mankind.

Some few in each Country make thoſe higher Flights after Honour and Power, and to theſe ends ſacrifice their Riches, their Labour, their Thought, and their Lives; and nothing diverts nor buſies Men more, than theſe purſuits, which are uſually covered with the Pretences, of ſerving a Mans Country, and of Publick Good. But the true ſervice of the Publick is a buſineſs of ſo much Labour and ſo much Care, that though a good and wiſe man may not refuſe it, if He be called to it by His Prince or His Country,

Country, and thinks He can be of more than vulgar uſe, yet He will ſeldom or never ſeek it, but leaves it commonly to men, who under the diſguiſe of Publick Good, purſue their own deſigns of Wealth, Power, and ſuch Baſtard Honours as uſually attend them, not that which is the true and only true Reward of Vertue.

The purſuits of Ambition, though not ſo general, yet are as endleſs as thoſe of Riches, and as extravagant; ſince none ever yet thought he had Power or Empire enough: And what Prince ſoever ſeems to be ſo great, as to live and reign without any further deſires or fears, falls into the Life of a private man, and enjoys but thoſe Pleaſures and Entertainments, which a great many ſeveral Degrees of private Fortune will allow, and as much as Humane Nature is capable of enjoying.

The Pleaſures of the Senſes grow a little more choice and refined; thoſe of Imagination are turned upon embelliſhing the Scenes He chooſes to live in; Eaſe, Conveniency, Elegancy, Magnificence, are ſought in Building firſt, and then in furniſhing Houſes or Palaces: The admirable imitations of Nature are introduced by Pictures, Statues, Tapeſtry

peſtry, and other ſuch atchievements of Arts. And the moſt exquiſite delights of Senſe are purſued, in the Contrivance and Plantations of Gardens, which, with Fruits, Flowers, Shades, Fountains, and the Muſick of Birds that frequent ſuch happy places, ſeem to furniſh all the pleaſures of the ſeveral Senſes, and with the greateſt, or at leaſt the moſt natural Perfections.

Thus the firſt Race of *Aſſyrian* Kings, after the Conqueſts of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, paſſed their Lives, till their Empire fell to the *Medes*. Thus the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, till depoſed by their *Mamalukes*. Thus paſſed the latter parts of thoſe great Lives of *Scipio*, *Lucullus*, *Auguſtus*, *Dioclesian*. Thus turned the great Thoughts of *Henry* the Second of *France*, after the end of his Wars with *Spain*. Thus the preſent King of *Morocco*, after having ſubdued all his Competitors, paſſes His Life in a Country Villa, gives Audience in a Grove of Orange-trees planted among purling Streams. And thus the King of *France*, after all the Succeſſes of his Counſels or Arms, and in the mighty Elevation of His preſent Greatneſs and Power, when He gives Himſelf leiſure from ſuch Deſigns or Purſuits, paſſes the ſofter and

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eaſier parts of His time in Countrey Houſes and Gardens, in building, planting or adorning the Scenes, or in the common Sports and Entertainments of ſuch kind of Lives. And thoſe mighty Emperors, who contented not themſelves with theſe pleaſures of common Humanity, fell into the Frantick or the Extravagant; they pretended to be Gods, or turned to be Devils, as *Caligula* and *Nero*, and too many others known enough in Story.

Whilſt Mankind is thus generally buſied or amuſed, that part of them, who have had either the Juſtice or the Luck, to paſs in common Opinion for the wiſeſt and the beſt part among them, have followed another and very different Scent; and inſtead of the common deſigns of ſatisfying their Appetites and their Paſſions, and making endleſs Proviſions for both, they have choſen what they thought a nearer and a ſurer way to the eaſe and felicity of Life, by endeavouring to ſubdue, or at leaſt to temper their Paſſions, and reduce their Appetites to what Nature ſeems only to aſk and to need. And this deſign ſeems to have brought Philoſophy into the World, at leaſt that which is termed Moral, and appears to have an End,

not

not only desirable by every man, which is the Ease and Happiness of Life, but also in some degree suitable to the force and reach of humane Nature. For as to that part of Philosophy, which is called Natural, I know no end it can have, but that of either busying a man's Brains to no purpose, or satisfying the Vanity, so natural to most men, of distinguishing themselves by some way or other, from those that seem their Equals in Birth, and the common advantages of it; and whether this distinction be made by Wealth or Power, or appearance of Knowledge, which gains Esteem and Applause in the World, is all a case. More than this, I know no Advantage Mankind has gained by the progress of Natural Philosophy, during so many Ages it has had Vogue in the World, excepting always, and very justly, what we owe to the Mathematicks, which is in a manner, all that seems valuable among the Civilized Nations, more than those we call Barbarous, whether they are so or no, or more so than our selves.

How ancient this Natural Philosophy has been in the World, is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient Philosophers in this kind, among the

most

moſt ancient now extant with us. The firſt who found out the Vanity of it, ſeems to have been *Solomon*, of which Diſcovery he has left ſuch admirable ſtrains in *Eccleſiaſtes*. The next was *Socrates*, who made it the buſineſs of His Life to explode it, and introduce that which we call Moral in its place, to buſie Human Minds to better purpoſe. And indeed, whoever reads with Thought what theſe two, and *Marcus Antoninus*, have ſaid upon the Vanity of all that mortal man can ever attain to know of Nature, in its Originals or Operations, may ſave himſelf a great deal of Pains, and juſtly conclude, That the knowledge of ſuch things is not our Game; and (like the purſuit of a Stag by a little Spaniel) may ſerve to amuſe and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think thoſe Three I have named, may juſtly paſs for the wiſeſt Triumvirate that are left us, upon the Records of Story or of Time.

After *Socrates*, who left nothing in writing, many Sects of Philoſophers began to ſpread in *Greece*, who entred boldly upon both parts of Natural and Moral Philoſophy. The firſt with the greateſt Diſagreement, and the moſt eager Contention that could be upon the

greateſt Subjects: As, Whether the World were Eternal, or produced at ſome certain time? Whether if produced, it was by ſome Eternal Mind, and to ſome end, or by the fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms, or ſome Particles of Eternal Matter? Whether there was one World or many? Whether the Soul of man was a part of ſome Æthereal and Eternal Subſtance, or was Corporeal? Whether if Eternal, it was ſo before it came into the Body, or only after it went out? There were the ſame Contentions about the Motions of the Heavens, the Magnitude of the Cœleſtial Bodies, the Faculties of the Mind, and the Judgment of the Senſes. But all the different Schemes of Nature that have been drawn of old, or of late by *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, *Des-Cartes*, *Hobs*, or any other that I know of, ſeem to agree but in one thing, which is, The want of Demonſtration or Satisfaction, to any thinking and unpoſſeſſed Man; and ſeem more or leſs probable one than another, according to the Wit and Eloquence of the Authors and Advocates that raiſe or defend them; like Juglers Tricks, that have more or leſs appearance of being real, according to the dextrouſneſs and skill of Him that plays 'em; whereas per-

perhaps if we were capable of knowing Truth and Nature, these fine Schemes would prove like Rover Shots, some nearer and some further off, but all at great distance from the Mark, it may be none in sight.

Yet in the midst of these and many other such Disputes and Contentions in their Natural Philosophy, they seemed to agree much better in their Moral, and upon their Enquiries after the Ultimate End of man, which was his Happiness; their Contentions or Differences seem'd to be rather in Words, than in the Sense of their Opinions, or in the true meaning of their several Authors or Masters of their Sects: All concluded, that Happiness was the Chief Good, and ought to be the Ultimate End of Man; that as this was the end of Wisdom, so Wisdom was the way to Happiness. The Question then was, In what this Happiness consisted. The Contention grew warmest between the Stoicks and Epicureans, the other Sects in this point siding in a manner with one or the other of these, in their Conceptions or Expressions. The Stoicks would have it to consist in Virtue, and the Epicureans in Pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the Stoicks made the pleasure of Virtue to

be the greateſt Happineſs; and the beſt of the Epicureans made the greateſt Pleaſure to conſiſt in Virtue; and the difference between theſe two, ſeems not eaſily diſcovered: All agreed, the greateſt Temper, if not the total ſubduing of Paſſion, and exerciſe of Reaſon, to be the ſtate of the greateſt Felicity: To live without Deſires or Fears, or thoſe Perturbations of Mind and Thought, which Paſſions raiſe: To place true Riches in wanting little, rather than in poſſeſſing much; and true Pleaſure in Temperance, rather than in ſatisfying the Senſes: To live with indifference to the common Enjoyments and Accidents of Life, and with Conſtancy upon the greateſt Blows of Fate or of Chance; not to diſturb our Minds with ſad Reflections upon what is paſt, nor with anxious Cares or raving Hopes about what is to come; neither to diſquiet Life with the Fears of Death, nor Death with the Deſires of Life; but in both, and in all things elſe, to follow Nature, ſeem to be the Precepts moſt agreed among them.

Thus Reaſon ſeems only to have been called in, to allay thoſe Diſorders which it ſelf had raiſed, to cure its own Wounds, and pretends to make us wiſe no other way, than by rendring us inſenſible.

This

This at leaſt was the Profeſſion of many rigid Stoicks, who would have had a wiſe Man, not only without any ſort of Paſſion, but without any Senſe of Pain, as well as Pleaſure, and to enjoy Himſelf in the midſt of Diſeaſes and Torments, as well as of Health and Eaſe; a Principle, in my mind, againſt common Nature and common Senſe, and which might have told us in fewer Words, or with leſs Circumſtance, that a Man to be wiſe, ſhould not be a Man; and this perhaps might have been eaſie enough to believe, but nothing ſo hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their Notion, and fortunate in their Expreſſion, when they placed a man's Happineſs in the Tranquility of Mind, and Indolence of Body; for while we are compoſed of both, I doubt both muſt have a ſhare in the good or ill we feel. As Men of ſeveral Languages, ſay the ſame things in very different Words; ſo in ſeveral Ages, Countries, Conſtitutions of Laws and Religion, the ſame thing ſeems to be meant by very different expreſſions; What is called by the Stoicks Apathy, or Diſpaſſion; by the Scepticks, Indiſturbance; by the Moliniſts, Quietiſm; by common men, Peace of Conſcience; ſeems all to mean but great

Tranquility of Mind, though it be made to proceed from ſo diverſe Cauſes, as Human Wiſdom, Innocence of Life, or Reſignation to the Will of God. An old Uſurer had the ſame Notion, when He ſaid, No man could have Peace of Conſcience, that run out of his Eſtate; not comprehending what elſe was meant by that Phraſe, beſides true Quiet and Content of Mind; which however expreſſed, is, I ſuppoſe, meant by all, to be the beſt account that can be given of the Happineſs of man, ſince no man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondred, how ſuch ſharp and violent Invectives came to be made ſo generally againſt *Epicurus*, by the Ages that followed Him, whoſe Admirable Wit, Felicity of Expreſſion, Excellence of Nature, Sweetneſs of Converſation, Temperance of Life, and Conſtancy of Death, made Him ſo beloved by His Friends, admired by his Scholars, and honoured by the *Athenians*. But this Injuſtice may be faſtned chiefly upon the envy and malignity of the Stoicks at firſt, then upon the Miſtakes of ſome groſs Pretenders to His Sect (who took Pleaſure only to be Senſual) and afterwards, upon the Piety of the Primitive Chriſtians, who eſteemed his Principles of

of Natural Philoſophy, more oppoſite to thoſe of our Religion, than either the *Platoniſts*, the *Peripateticks*, or *Stoicks* themſelves: Yet I confeſs, I do not know why the account given by *Lucretius* of the Gods, ſhould be thought more impious, than that given by *Homer*, who makes them not only ſubject to all the weakeſt Paſſions, but perpetually buſie in all the worſt or meaneſt Actions of men.

But *Epicurus* has found ſo great Advocates of His Virtue, as well as Learning and Inventions, that there need no more; and the Teſtimonies of *Diogenes Laertius* alone, ſeem too ſincere and impartial to be diſputed, or to want the aſſiſtance of Modern Authors: If all failed, He would be but too well defended by the Excellence of ſo many of His Sect in all Ages, and eſpecially of thoſe who lived in the compaſs of one, but the greateſt in Story, both as to Perſons and Events: I need name no more than *Caſar*, *Atticus*, *Mecænas*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, all admirable in their ſeveral kinds, and perhaps unparallel'd in Story.

Caſar, if conſider'd in all Lights, may juſtly challenge the firſt place in the Regiſters we have of Mankind, equal only to Himſelf, and ſurpaſſing all others of his Nation and his Age, in the Virtues

and Excellencies of a Statesman, a Captain, an Orator, an Historian; besides all these, a Poet, a Philosopher when His leisure allowed Him; the greatest man of Councel and of Action, of Design and Execution; the greatest Nobleness of Birth, of Person, and of Countenance; the greatest Humanity, and Clemency of nature, in the midst of the greatest Provocations, Occasions and Examples of Cruelty and Revenge; 'tis true He overturned the Laws and Constitutions of his Country, yet 'twas after so many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; so as in what He did, He seems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what Himself designed; for though His Ambition was vast, yet it seems to have been raised to those Heights, rather by the Insolence of His Enemies, than by his own Temper; and that what was natural to Him, was only a desire of true Glory, and to acquire it by good Actions as well as great, by Conquests of barbarous Nations, extent of the Roman Empire, defending at first the Liberties of the *Plebeians*, opposing the Faction that had begun in *Sylla*, and ended in *Pompey*; and in the whole course of His Victories and Successes,

seeking

seeking all occasions of Bounty to His Friends, and Clemency to His Enemies. *Atticus* appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the *Romans*, Learned without pretending, Good without Affectation, Bountiful without Design, a Friend to all men in misfortune, a Flatterer to no Man in Greatness or Power, a Lover of Mankind, and beloved by them all, and by these Virtues and Dispositions, he passed safe and untouched, through all the Flames of Civil Dissentions that ravag'd His Country the greatest part of His Life; and though He never entred into any Publick Affairs, or particular Factions of His State, yet He was favoured, honoured and courted by them all, from *Sylla* to *Augustus*.

Mecænas was the wisest Counsellour, the truest Friend, both of His Prince and His Country, the best Governor of *Rome*, the happiest and ablest Negotiator, the best Judge of Learning and Virtue, the choicest in His Friends, and thereby the happiest in His Conversation that has been known in Story; and I think, to His Conduct in Civil, and *Agrippa*'s in Military Affairs, may be truly ascribed all the Fortunes and Greatness of *Augustus*, so much celebrated in the World.

For

For *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, they deſerve in my Opinion, the Honour of the greateſt Philoſophers, as well as the beſt Poets of their Nation or Age. The two firſt, beſides what looks like ſomething more than Human in their Poetry, were very great Naturaliſts, and admirable in their Morals: And *Horace*, beſides the Sweetneſs and Elegancy of his Lyricks, appears in the reſt of his Writings, ſo great a Maſter of Life, and of true Senſe in the Conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean ſtrain of His Philoſophy, to refuſe being Secretary to *Auguſtus*, when ſo great an Emperor ſo much deſired it. But all the different Sects of Philoſophers, ſeem to have agreed in the Opinion, of a wiſe Man's abſtaining from Publick Affairs, which is thought the meaning of *Pythagoras*'s Precept, To abſtain from Beans, by which the Affairs or publick Reſolutions in *Athens* were managed. They thought that ſort of Buſineſs too groſs and material for the abſtracted fineneſs of their Speculations. They eſteemed it too ſordid and too artificial for the cleanneſs and ſimplicity of their Manners and Lives. They would have no part in the Faults of a Government, and they knew

too

too well, that the Nature and Paſſions of men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good, and therefore thought all the Service they could do to the State they lived under, was to mend the Lives and Manners of particular men that compoſed it. But where Factions were once entred and rooted in a State, they thought it madneſs for Good men to meddle with Publick Affairs, which made them turn their Thoughts and Entertainments to any thing rather than this; and *Heraclitus* having upon the Factions of the Citizens, quitted the Government of His City, and amuſing Himſelf, to play with the Boys in the Porch of the Temple, askt thoſe who wondred at him, *Whether 'twas not better to play with ſuch Boys, than govern ſuch Men?* But above all, they eſteemed Publick Buſineſs the moſt contrary of all others, to that Tranquility of Mind, which they eſteemed and taught, to be the only true Felicity of man.

For this reaſon *Epicurus* paſſed His Life wholly in his Garden; there He Studied, there He Exerciſed, there He taught His Philoſophy; and indeed, no other ſort of Abode ſeems to contribute ſo much, to both the Tranquility of

Mind,

Mind, and Indolence of Body, which He made His Chief Ends. The Sweetneſs of Air, the Pleaſantneſs of Smells, the Verdure of Plants, the Cleanneſs and Lightneſs of Food, the Exercises of working or walking, but above all, the Exemption from Cares and Sollicitude, ſeem equally to favour and improve, both Contemplation and Health, the Enjoyment of Senſe and Imagination, and thereby the Quiet and Eaſe both of the Body and Mind.

Though *Epicurus* be ſaid to have been the firſt that had a Garden in *Athens*, whoſe Citizens before Him, had theirs in their Villaes or Farms without the City; yet the uſe of Gardens ſeems to have been the moſt ancient and moſt general of any ſorts of Poſſeſſion among Mankind, and to have preceded thoſe of Corn, or of Cattel, as yielding the eaſier, the pleaſanter, and more natural Food. As it has been the Inclination of Kings, and the choice of Philoſophers, ſo it has been the common Favourite of publick and private Men, a pleaſure of the greateſt, and the Care of the meaneſt, and indeed an Employment and a Poſſeſſion, for which no Man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we muſt allow

allow that God Almighty esteemed the Life of a man in a Garden, the happiest He could give Him, or else He would not have placed *Adam* in that of *Eden*; that it was the state of Innocence and Pleasure; and that the Life of Husbandry and Cities, came in after the Fall, with Guilt and with Labour.

Where Paradise was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it, may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a *Persian* Word, since *Xenophon* and other Greek Authors mention it, as what was much in use and delight among the Kings of those *Eastern* Countries. *Strabo* describing *Jerico*, says, *Ibi est palmetum, cui immixtæ sunt, etiam aliæ stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis scatens, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi est Regia & Balsami Paradisus.* He mentions another place, to be *prope Libanum & Paradisum*. And *Alexander* is written to have seen *Cyrus*'s Tomb in a Paradise, being a Tower not very great, and covered with a shade of Trees about it. So that a Paradise among them seems to have been a large space of Ground, adorned and beautified with all sorts of Trees, both of Fruits and of Forest, either found there before it was inclosed,

incloſed, or planted after; either cultivated like Gardens, for Shades and for Walks, with Fountains or Streams, and all ſorts of Plants uſual in the Climat, and pleaſant to the Eye, the Smell, or the Taſt; or elſe employed, like our Parks, for Incloſure and Harbor of all ſorts of Wild Beaſts, as well as for the pleaſure of riding and walking: And ſo they were of more or leſs extent, and of differing entertainment, according to the ſeveral Humours of the Princes that ordered and incloſed them.

Semiramis is the firſt we are told of in Story, that brought them in uſe through Her Empire, and was ſo fond of them, as to make one where ever ſhe built, and in all, or moſt of the Provinces ſhe ſubdued, which are ſaid to have been from *Babylon* as far as *India*. The *Aſſyrian* Kings continued this Cuſtom and Care, or rather this Pleaſure, till one of them brought in the uſe of ſmaller and more regular Gardens; For having married a Wife he was fond of, out of one of the Provinces, where ſuch Paradiſes or Gardens were much in uſe, and the Country Lady not well bearing the Air or Incloſure of the Palace in *Babylon* to which the *Aſſyrian* Kings uſed to confine themſelves, He made Her Gardens, not only within

within the Palace, but upon Terraſes raiſed with Earth, over the arched Roofs, and even upon the top of the higheſt Tower, planted them with all ſorts of Fruit-Trees, as well as other Plants and Flowers, the moſt pleaſant of that Country, and thereby made at leaſt the moſt airy Gardens, as well as the moſt coſtly, that have been heard of in the World. This Lady may probably have been Native of the Provinces of *Chaſimir*, or of *Damaſcus*, which have in all times been the happieſt Regions for Fruits of all the *Eaſt*, by the Excellence of Soyl, the poſition of Mountains, the frequency of Streams, rather than the Advantages of Climat. And 'tis great pity we do not yet ſee the Hiſtory of *Chaſimir*, which *Mounſieur Bernier* aſſured me, He had tranſlated out of *Perſian*, and intended to pubiiſh, and of which he has given ſuch a taſt, in his excellent Memoirs, of the *Mogul*'s Country.

The next Gardens we read of, are thoſe of *Solomon*, planted with all ſorts of Fruit-Trees, and watered with Fountains; and though we have no more particular Deſcription of them, yet we may find, they were the Places where He paſſed the times of his Leiſure and Delight, where the Houſes as well as Grounds,

Grounds, were adorned with all that could be of pleasing and elegant, and were the Retreats and Entertainments of those among his Wives that He loved the best; and 'tis not improbable, that the Paradises mentioned by *Strabo*, were planted by this great and wisest King. But the Idea of the Garden must be very great, if it answers at all to that of the Gardener, who must have employed a great deal of His Care and of His Study, as well as of His Leisure and Thought in these Entertainments, since He writ of all Plants, from the Cedar to the Shrub.

What the Gardens of the *Hesperides* were, we have little or no account, further than the mention of them, and thereby the Testimony of their having been in use and request, in such remoteness of place, and Antiquity of Time.

The Garden of *Alcinous*, described by *Homer*, seems wholly Poetical, and made at the pleasure of the Painter, like the rest of the Romantick Palace, in that little barren Island of *Phæacia* or *Corfu*. Yet as all the pieces of this transcendent Genius, are composed with excellent Knowledge, as well as Fancy; so they seldom fail of Instruction as well as Delight, to all that read Him. The Seat of this Garden, joyning to the Gates of

the

the Palace, the compaſs of the Inclo-ſure, being Four Acres, the tall Trees of Shade, as well as thoſe of Fruit, the two Fountains, one for the uſe of the Garden, and the other of the Palace, the continual Succeſſion of Fruits throughout the whole Year, are, for ought I know, the beſt Rules or Proviſions, that can go towards compoſing the beſt Gardens; nor is it unlikely, that *Homer* may have drawn this Picture after the life of ſome he had ſeen in *Ionia*, the Country and uſual Abode of this Divine Poet; and indeed the Region of the moſt refined Pleaſures and Luxury, as well as Invention and Wit: For the humour and cuſtom of Gardens may have deſcended earlier into the lower *Aſia*, from *Damaſcus*, *Aſſyria*, and other parts of the *Eaſtern* Empires, though they ſeem to have made late Entrance, and ſmaller Improvement in thoſe of *Greece* and *Rome*, at leaſt in no proportion to their other Inventions or Refinements of Pleaſure and Luxury.

The long and flouriſhing Peace of the two firſt Empires, gave earlier riſe and growth to Learning and Civility, and all the Conſequences of them, in Magnificence and Elegancy of Building and Gardening; whereas *Greece* and *Rome*

were almoſt perpetually engaged in Quarrels and Wars, either abroad or at home, and ſo were buſie in Actions, that were done under the Sun, rather than thoſe under the Shade. Theſe were the Entertainments of the ſofter Nations, that fell under the Virtue and Proweſs of the two laſt Empires, which from thoſe Conqueſts brought home mighty Increaſes both of Riches and Luxury, and ſo perhaps loſt more than they got by the Spoils of the *Eaſt*.

There may be another reaſon for the ſmall advance of Gardening in thoſe excellent and more temperate Climats, where the Air and Soyl were ſo apt of themſelves to produce the beſt ſorts of Fruits, without the neceſſity of cultivating them by labour and care; whereas the hotter Climats, as well as the cold, are forced upon Induſtry and Skill, to produce or improve many Fruits that grow of themſelves in the more temperate Regions. However it were, we have very little mention of Gardens in old *Greece*, or in old *Rome*, for pleaſure or with Elegance, nor of much curiouſneſs or care, to introduce the Fruits of Foreign Climats, contenting themſelves with thoſe, which were Native of their own, and theſe were the Vine, the Olive,

Olive, the Fig, the Pear, and the Apple; *Cato*, as I remember, mentions no more, and their Gardens were then but the neceſſary part of their Farms, intended particularly for the cheap and eaſie Food of their Hinds or Slaves, imployed in their Agriculture, and ſo were turned chiefly to all the common ſorts of Plants, Herbs, or Legumes, (as the *French* call them) proper for common nouriſhment; and the name of *Hortus* is taken to be from *Ortus*, becauſe it perpetually furniſhes ſome riſe or production of ſomething new in the World.

Lucullus, after the *Mithridatick* War, firſt brought Cherries from *Pontus* into *Italy*, which ſo generally pleas'd, and were ſo eaſily propagated in all Climats, that within the ſpace of about an hundred years, having travelled *Weſtward* with the *Roman* Conqueſts, they grew common as far as the *Rhine*, and paſſed over into *Britain*. After the Conqueſt of *Africk*, *Greece*, the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Syria*, were brought into *Italy*, all the ſorts of their *Mala*, which we interpret Apples, and might ſignifie no more at firſt, but were afterwards applied to many other Foreign Fruits: The Apricocks coming from *Epire*, were called *Mala Epirotica*;

Peaches from *Persia*, *Mala Persica*; Citrons from *Media*, *Medica*; Pomgranets from *Carthage*, *Punica*; Quinces *Cathonea*, from a small Island in the *Grecian* Seas; their best Pears were brought from *Alexandria*, *Numidia*, *Greece* and *Numantia*, as appears by their several Appellations: Their Plums, from *Armenia*, *Syria*, but chiefly from *Damascus*. The kinds of these are reckon'd in *Nero's* time, to have been near Thirty, as well as of Figs, and many of them were entertained at *Rome* with so great Applause, and so general Vogue, that the great Captains, and even Consular Men, who first brought them over, took pride in giving them their own Names, (by which they run a great while in *Rome*) as in memory of some great Service or Pleasure they had done their Country; so that not only Laws and Battels, but several sorts of Apples or *Mala*, and of Pears, were called *Manlian* and *Claudian*, *Pompeyan* and *Tiberian*, and by several other such Noble Names.

Thus the Fruits of *Rome*, in about an hundred years, came from Countries as far as their Conquests had reached, and like Learning, Architecture, Painting and Statuary, made their great advances in *Italy*, about the *Augustan* Age. What was

of

of moſt requeſt, in their common Gardens, in *Virgil*'s time, or at leaſt in His Youth, may be conjectured, by the Deſcription of His old *Corycian*'s Garden, in the Fourth of the Georgicks, which begins,

Namq; ſub Oebaliæ memini me turribus altis.

Among Flowers, the Roſes had the firſt place, eſpecially a kind which bore twice a year; and none other ſorts are here mention'd beſides the *Narciſſus*, tho the Violet and the Lilly were very common, and the next in eſteem, eſpecially the *Breve Lillium*, which was the *Tubereuſe*. The Plants he mentions, are the *Apium*, which tho commonly interpreted *Parſly*, yet comprehends all ſorts of Smallage, whereof Sellary is one, *Cucumis*, which takes in all ſorts of Melons, as well as Cucumbers: *Olus*, which is a common Word for all ſorts of Potherbs and Legumes; *Verbenas*, which ſignifies all kinds of Sweet or Sacred Plants, that were uſed for adorning the Altars, as Bays, Olive, Roſemary, Mirtle; the *Acantus* ſeems to be what we call *Pericanthe*; but what their *Hederæ* were, that deſerved place in a Garden, I cannot gueſs, unleſs they had ſorts of Ivy

unknown to us; nor what His *Veſcum Papaver* was, ſince Poppies with us are of no uſe in eating, The Fruits mentioned, are only Apples, Pears, and Plums; for Olives, Vines, and Figs, were grown to be Fruits of their Fields, rather than of their Gardens. The Shades were the Elm, the Pine, the Lime-Tree, and the *Platanus*, or Plane-tree, whoſe Leaf and Shade, of all others, was the moſt in requeſt; and having been brought out of *Perſia*, was ſuch an Inclination among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they uſually fed it with Wine inſtead of Water; they believed this Tree loved that Liquor, as well as thoſe that uſed to drink under its Shade; which was a great humour and cuſtom, and perhaps gave riſe to the other, by obſerving the growth of the Tree, or largeneſs of the Leafs, where much Wine was ſpilt or left, and thrown upon the Roots.

'Tis great pity the haſt which *Virgil* ſeems here to have been in, ſhould have hindered him from entring farther into the Account or Inſtructions of Gardening, which he ſaid he could have given, and which he ſeems to have ſo much eſteemed and loved, by that admirable Picture of this old Man's Felicity, which he draws, like ſo great a Maſter, with

one

one ſtroke of a Pencil, in thoſe Four Words:

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midſt of theſe ſmall Poſſeſſions, upon a few Acres of barren ground, yet He equalled all the Wealth and Opulence of Kings, in the Eaſe, Content, and Freedom of His Mind.

I am not ſatisfied with the common Acception of the *Mala Aurea*, for Oranges; nor do I find any paſſage in the Authors of that Age, which gives me the Opinion, that theſe were otherwiſe known to the *Romans* than as fruits of the *Eaſtern* Climats. I ſhould take their *Mala Aurea* to be rather ſome kind of Apples, ſo called from the golden Colour, as ſome are amongſt us; for otherwiſe, the Orange-tree is too Noble, in the beauty, taſt and ſmell of its Fruit, in the Perfume and Virtue of its Flowers, in the perpetual Verdure of its Leaves, and in the excellent uſes of all theſe, both for Pleaſure and Health, not to have deſerved any particular mention in the Writings of an Age and Nation, ſo refined and exquiſite in all ſorts of delicious Luxury.

The charming deſcription *Virgil* makes

of the Happy Apple, muſt be intended either for the Citron, or for ſome ſort of Orange growing in *Media*, which was either ſo proper to that Country, as not to grow in any other (as a certain ſort of Fig was to *Damaſcus*) or to have loſt its Virtue by changing Soyls, or to have had its effect of curing ſome ſort of Poyſon that was uſual in that Country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inſerting thoſe few Lines, out of the ſecond of *Virgil*'s Georgicks, not having ever heard any body elſe take notice of them.

Media *fert triſtes ſuccos tardumq; ſaporem*
Fœlicis Mali, quo non præſentibus ullum,
Pocula ſi quando ſævæ infecere Novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena;
Ipſa ingens arbos, faciemq; ſimilima lauro,
Et ſi non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit, folia haud ullis labentia ventis,
Flos apprima tenax, animas & olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac ſenibus medicantur anhelis.

Media *brings poyſ'nous herbs, and the flat taſt*
Of the bleſt Apple, than which ne're was found
A help more preſent, when curſt Stepdames mix
Their mortal Cups, to drive the Venom out.

'Tis

'Tis a large Tree, and like a Bays in hue,
And did it not ſuch Odours caſt about,
'Twould be a Bays, the leafs with no winds fall,
The Flowers all excel; with theſe the Medes
Perfume their Breaths, and cure old purſie Men.

The Tree being ſo like a Bays or Lawrel, the ſlow or dull taſt of the Apple, the Virtue of it againſt Poyſon, ſeem to deſcribe the Citron. The Perfume of the Flowers and Virtues of them, to cure ill Sents of Mouth or Breath, or ſhortneſs of Wind in purſie old Men, ſeem to agree moſt with the Orange: If *Flos apprima tenax*, mean only the Excellence of the Flower above all others, it may be intended for the Orange: If it ſignifies the Flowers growing moſt upon the tops of the Trees, it may be rather the Citron; for I have been ſo curious as to bring up a Citron from a Kernel, which at twelve years age, began to flower; and I obſerved all the Flowers to grow upon the top Branches of the Tree, but to be nothing ſo high or ſweet-ſented, as the Orange. On the other ſide, I have always heard Oranges to paſs for a Cordial Juyce, and a great preſervative againſt the Plague, which is a ſort of Venom;

ſo

ſo that I know not to which of theſe we are to aſcribe this lovely Picture of the Happy Apple; but I am ſatisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known in *Italy*, at that time, or long after, though the Fruit be now ſo frequent there in Fields (at leaſt in ſome parts) and make ſo common and delicious a part of Gardening, even in theſe *Northern* Climats.

'Tis certain thoſe noble Fruits, the Citron, the Orange, and the Lemmon, are the Native product of thoſe noble Regions, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, and *Perſia*; and tho they have been from thence tranſplanted and propagated in many parts of *Europe*, yet they have not arrived at ſuch perfection in Beauty, Taſt or Virtue, as in their Native Soyl and Climat. This made it generally obſerved among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, That the Fruits of the *Eaſt* far excelled thoſe of the *Weſt*. And ſeveral Writers have trifled away their time in deducing the reaſons of this difference, from the more benign or powerful Influences of the Riſing Sun. But there is nothing more evident to any man that has the leaſt knowledge of the Globe, and gives himſelf leave to think, than the folly of ſuch wiſe Reaſons, ſince the Regions that are *Eaſt* to us, are

Weſt

Weſt to ſome others; and the Sun ariſes alike to all that lye in the ſame Latitude, with the ſame Heat and Virtue upon its firſt approaches, as well as in its Progreſs. Beſides, if the *Eaſtern* Fruits were the better only for that Poſition of Climat; then thoſe of *India* ſhould excel thoſe of *Perſia*, which we do not find by comparing the accounts of thoſe Countries; but *Aſſyria*, *Media*, and *Perſia*, have been ever eſteemed, and will be ever found the true Regions of the beſt and nobleſt Fruits in the World. The reaſon of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper Soyl, being there extended under the beſt Climat for the Production of all ſorts of the beſt Fruits, which ſeems to be from about Twenty five, to about Thirty five degrees of Latitude. Now the Regions under this Climat in the preſent *Perſian* Empire (which comprehends moſt of the other two, called anciently *Aſſyria* and *Media*) are compoſed of many Provinces full of great and fertile Plains, bounded by high Mountains, eſpecially to the *North*, watered naturally with many Rivers, and thoſe by Art and Labour derived into many more and ſmaller Streams, which all conſpire to form a Country in all circumſtances the

moſt

moſt proper and agreeable for Production of the beſt and nobleſt Fruits, Whereas if we ſurvey the Regions of the *Weſtern* World, lying in the ſame Latitude between Twenty five and thirty five Degrees, we ſhall find them extended either over the *Mediterranean* Sea, the Ocean, or the Sandy barren Countries of *Africa*; and that no part of the Continent of *Europe* lies ſo *Southward* as Thirty five Degrees. Which may ſerve to diſcover the true genuine Reaſon, why the Fruits of the *Eaſt* have been always obſerved and agreed to tranſcend thoſe of the *Weſt*.

In our *North-Weſt* Climats, our Gardens are very different from what they were in *Greece* and *Italy*, and from what they are now in thoſe Regions in *Spain*, or the *Southern* parts of *France*. And as moſt general Cuſtoms in Countries grow from the different nature of Climats, Soyls, or Scituations, and from the neceſſities or induſtry they impoſe, ſo do theſe.

In the warmer Regions, Fruits and Flowers of the beſt ſorts are ſo common, and of ſo eaſie Production, that they grow in Fields, and are not worth the coſt of incloſing, or the care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other ſide, the great Pleaſures of thoſe Climats

are

are coolneſs of Air, and whatever looks cool even to the Eyes, and relieves them from the unpleaſant ſight of duſty Streets, or parch'd Fields. This makes the Gardens of thoſe Countries to be chiefly valued by largeneſs of Extent (which gives greater play and openneſs of Air) by Shades of Trees, by frequency of living Streams or Fountains, by Perſpectives, by Statues, and by Pillars and Obelisks of Stone ſcattered up and down, which all conſpire to make any place look freſh and cool. On the contrary, the more *Northern* Climats, as they ſuffer little by Heat, make little Proviſion againſt it, and are careleſs of Shade, and ſeldom curious in Fountains. Good Statues are in the reach of few Men, and common ones are generally and juſtly deſpiſed or neglected. But no ſorts of good Fruits or Flowers, being Natives of the Climats, or uſual among us, (nor indeed the beſt ſort of Plants, Herbs, Sallads for our Kitchin Gardens themſelves) and the beſt Fruits not ripening without the advantage of Walls or Paliſades, by reflection of the faint Heat we receive from the Sun, our Gardens are made of ſmaller Compaſs, ſeldom exceeding four, ſix, or eight Acres, incloſed with Walls, and laid out in a manner wholly

wholly for advantage of Fruits, Flowers, and the product of Kitchin Gardens in all sorts of Herbs, Sallads, Plants and Legumes, for the common use of Tables.

These are usually the Gardens of *England* and *Holland*, as the first sort are those of *Italy*, and were so of old. In the more temperate parts of *France*, and in *Brabant* (where I take Gardening to be at its greatest heighth) they are compos'd of both sorts, the extent more spacious than ours, part laid out for Flowers, others for Fruits, some Standards, some against Walls or Palisades, some for Forest Trees and Groves for Shade, some parts wild, some exact, and Fountains much in request among them.

But after so much ramble into Ancient Times, and remote Places, to return home and consider the present way and humour of our Gardening in *England*, which seem to have grown into such Vogue, and to have been so mightily improved, in three or four and twenty years of His Majesty's Reign, that perhaps few Countries are before us, either in the Elegance of our Gardens, in the number of our Plants; and I believe none equals us in the Variety of Fruits, which may justly be called good; and from the earliest Cherry and Strawberry,

to

to the laſt Apples and Pears, may furniſh every day of the circling year. For the Taſt and Perfection of what we eſteem the beſt, I may truly ſay, that the *French* who have eaten my Peaches and Grapes at *Sheene* in no very ill year, have generally concluded, that the laſt are as good as any they have eaten in *France* on this ſide *Fointainbleau*; and the firſt as good as any they have eat in *Gaſcony*; I mean thoſe which come from the Stone, and are properly called Peaches, not thoſe which are hard, and are termed Pavies; for theſe cannot grow in too warm a Climat, nor ever be good in a cold, and are better at *Madrid* than in *Gaſcony* it ſelf: *Italians* have agreed, my White Figs to be as good as any of that ſort in *Italy*, which is the earlier kind of White Fig there; for in the later kind, and the blue, we cannot come near the warm Climats, no more than in the *Frontignac* or *Muſcat* Grape.

My Orange-trees are as large as any I ſaw, when I was young in *France*, except thoſe of *Fountainbleau*, or what I have ſeen ſince in the Low Countries, except ſome very old ones of the Prince of *Orange*'s; as laden with Flowers as any can well be, as full of Fruit as I ſuffer or deſire them, and as well taſted

as

as are commonly brought over, except the best sorts of *Sevil* and *Portugal*. And thus much I could not but say, in defence of our Climat, which is so much and so generally decried abroad, by those who never saw it, or if they have been here, have yet perhaps seen no more of it, than what belongs to Inns, or to Taverns and Ordinaries, who accuse our Country for their own Defaults, and speak ill, not only of our Gardens and Houses, but of our Humours, our Breeding, our Customs and Manners of Life, by what they have observed of the meaner and baser sort of Mankind, and of Company among us, because they wanted themselves perhaps either Fortune or Birth, either Quality or Merit, to introduce them among the good.

I must needs add one thing more in favour of our Climat, which I heard the King say, and I thought new and right, and truly like a King of *England* that loved and esteemed His own Country:' Twas in reply to some of the Company that were reviling our Climat, and extolling those of *Italy* and *Spain*, or at least of *France*; He said, He thought that was the best Climat, where He could be abroad in the Air with Plea-

sure,

ſure, or at leaſt without Trouble and Inconvenience, the moſt days of the Year, and the moſt hours of the Day; and this He thought He could be in *England*, more than in any Country He knew of in *Europe*. And I believe it is true, not only of the hot and the cold, but even among our Neighbours in *France* and the Low-Countries themſelves, where the Heats or the Colds, and Changes of Seaſons, are leſs treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our Climat wants no Heat to produce excellent Fruits; and the Defaulk of it, is only the ſhort Seaſon of our Heats or Summers, by which many of the later are left behind and imperfect with us. But all ſuch as are ripe before the end of *Auguſt*, are for ought I know, as good with us as any where elſe. This makes me eſteem the true Region of Gardens in *England* to be the compaſs of Ten Miles about *London*; where the accidental warmth of Air, from the Fires and Steams of ſo vaſt a Town, makes Fruits as well as Corn a great deal forwarder than in *Hampſhire* or *Wiltſhire*, though more *Southward* by a full Degree.

There are, beſides the Temper of our Climat, two things particular to us,

that contribute much to the Beauty and Elegance of our Gardens, which are the Gravel of our Walks, and the fineneſs and almoſt perpetual Greenneſs of our Turf. The firſt is not known any where elſe, which leaves all their dry Walks in other Countries very unpleaſant and uneaſie. The other cannot be found in *France* or in *Holland* as we have it, the Soyl not admitting that fineneſs of Blade in *Holland*, nor the Sun that Greenneſs in *France* during moſt of the Summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the fineſt of our Soyls.

Who-ever begins a Garden, ought in the firſt place, and above all, to conſider the Soyl, upon which the taſt of not only His Fruits, but His Legumes, and even Herbs and Sallads, will wholly depend, and the default of Soyl is without remedy; for although all Borders of Fruit may be made with what Earth you pleaſe (if you will be at the charge) yet it muſt be renewed in two or three years, or it runs into the nature of the Ground where 'tis brought. Old Trees ſpread their Roots further than any Bodies Care extends, or the Forms of the Garden will allow; and after all, where the Soyl about you is ill, the Air is ſo too in a Degree, and has Influence

upon

upon the taſt of Fruit. What *Horace* ſays of the productions of Kitchin Gardens under the Name of *Caulis*, is true of all the beſt ſorts of Fruits, and may determine the choice of Soyl for all Gardens.

Caule ſuburbano qui ſiccis crevit in agris
Dulcior, irriguis nihil eſt elutius hortis.

Plants from dry Fields thoſe of the Town excel,
Nothing more taſtleſs is than water'd grounds.

Any man had better throw away his Care and his Mony upon any thing elſe, than upon a Garden in wet or moiſt Ground. Peaches and Grapes will have no taſt but upon a Sand or Gravel; but the richer theſe are the better; and neither Sallads, Peaſe, or Beans, have at all the taſt upon a Clay or rich Earth, as they have upon either of the others, tho the Size and Colour of Fruits and Plants may perhaps be more upon the worſe Soyls.

Next to your choice of Soyl, is to ſuit your Plants to your Ground, ſince of this every one is not Maſter; though perhaps *Varro*'s Judgment upon this

ease, is the wisest and the best; For to one that asked him, What he should do, if His Father or Ancestors had left Him a Seat in an ill Air, or upon an ill Soyl? He answered, Why sell it and buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the worth? Why then take a quarter, but however sell it, or any thing rather than live upon it.

Of all sorts of Soyl, the best is that upon a Sandy Gravel, or a Rosiny Sand; whoever lies upon either of these, may run boldly into all the best sort of Peaches and Grapes, how shallow soever the Turf be upon them; and whatever other Tree will thrive in these Soyls, the Fruit shall be of much finer taste than any other: A richer Soyl will do well enough for Apricocks, Plums, Pears or Figs, but still the more of the Sand in your Earth the better, and the worse the more of the Clay, which is proper for Oaks, and no other Tree that I know of.

Fruits should be suited to the Climat among us, as well as the Soyl, for there are degrees of one and the other in *England*, where 'tis to little purpose to plant any of the best Fruits, as Peaches or Grapes, hardly I doubt beyond *Northamptonshire* at the furthest *Northwards*; and I thought it very prudent

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in a Gentleman of my Friends in *Staffordshire*, who is a great lover of His Garden, to pretend no higher, though His Soyl be good enough, than to the perfection of Plums, and in these (by bestowing South walls upon them) He has very well succeeded, which He could never have done in attempts upon Peaches and Grapes; and a good Plum is certainly better than an ill Peach.

When I was at *Cosevelt* with that Bishop of *Munster*, that made so much noise in His time, I observed no other Trees but Cherries in a great Garden He had made. He told me the reason was, Because He found no other Fruit would ripen well in that Climat, or upon that Soyl, and therefore in stead of being curious in others, He had only been so, in the sorts of that, whereof He had so many, as never to be without them from *May* to the end of *September*.

As to the size of a Garden, which will perhaps in time grow extravagant among us, I think from four or five to seven or eight Acres, is as much as any Gentleman need design, and will furnish as much of all that is expected from it, as any Nobleman will have occasion to use in His Family.

In every Garden four things are ne-

ceſſary to be provided for, Flowers, Fruit, Shade, and Water, and whoever lays out a Garden without all theſe, muſt not pretend it in any perfection: It ought to lie to the beſt parts of the Houſe, or to thoſe of the Maſter's commoneſt uſe, ſo as to be but like one of the Rooms out of which you ſtep into another. The part of your Garden next your Houſe, (beſides the Walks that go round it) ſhould be a Parterre for Flowers, or Graſs-plots bordered with Flowers; or if, according to the neweſt mode, it be caſt all into Graſs-plots and Gravel Walks, the drineſs of theſe ſhould be relieved with Fountains, and the plainneſs of thoſe with Statues; otherwiſe, if large, they have an ill effect upon the Eye. However, the part next the Houſe ſhould be open, and no other Fruit but upon the Walls. If this take up one half of the Garden, the other ſhould be Fruit-Trees, unleſs ſome Grove for Shade lie in the middle. If it take up a third part only, then the next third may be Dwarf-Trees, and the laſt Standard Fruit; or elſe the Second Part Fruit-trees, and the third all ſorts of Winter-greens, which provide for all Seaſons of the year.

I will not enter upon any account of Flowers,

Flowers, having only pleased my self with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled my self with the Care, which is more the Ladies part than the Mens, but the Success is wholly in the Gardiner. For Fruits, the best we have in *England*, or I believe can ever hope for, are, of Peaches, the *White* and *Red Mandlin*, the *Minion*, the *Chevreuse*, the *Roomboullet*, the *Musk*, the *Admirable* which is late, all the rest are either varied by Names, or not to be named with these, nor worth troubling a Garden, in my Opinion. Of the *Parties* or Hard Peaches, I know none good here but the *Newington*, nor will that easily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward Peaches are to be esteemed only because they are early, but yet should find room in a good Garden, at least, the White and Brown Nutmeg, the *Persian*, and the Violet Musk. The only good Nectorins are the Murry and the *French*; of these there are two sorts, one very round, the other something long, but the round is the best. Of the Murry there are several sorts, but being all hard, they are seldom well ripened with us.

Of Grapes, the best are the *Chasselas*, which is the better sort of our White Muscadin, (as the usual Name was); about

bout *Sheen*, 'tis called the Pearl Grape, and ripens wells enough in common years, but not so well as the common Black or Gurrand, which is something a worse Grape. The Parsly is good and proper enough to our Climat, but all white *Frontiniacks* are difficult, and seldom ripe unless in extraordinary Sumers. I have had the Honour of bringing over four sorts into *England*; the *Arboyse* from the *Franche Conte*, which is a small white Grape, or rather runs into some small and some great upon the same Bunch; it agrees well with our Climat, but is very choice in Soyl, and must have a sharp Gravel; it is the most delicious of all Grapes that are not Muscat. The *Burgundy*, which is a grizelin or pale red, and of all others is surest to ripen in our Climat, so that I have never known them to fail one Summer these fifteen yeats, when all others have, and have had it very good upon an *East* Wall. The Black Muscat, which is called the *Dowager*, and ripens as well as the common White Grape. And the fourth is the *Grizelin Frontignac*, being of that Colour, and the highest of that Tast, and the noblest of all Grapes I ever eat in *England*, but requires the hottest Wall and the sharpest Gravel, and must be favour-

favoured by the Summer too, to be very good. All these are, I suppose, by this time, pretty common among some Gardners in my Neighbourhood, as well as several Persons of Quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of Figs there are among us the White, the Blue, and the Tawny: The last is very small, bears ill, and I think but a Bawble. Of the Blew there are two or three sorts, but little different, one something longer than the other; but that kind which swells most is ever the best. Of the White I know but two sorts, and both excellent, one ripe in the beginning of *July*, the other in the end of *September*, and is yellower than the first; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raise, though an excellent Fruit.

Of Apricocks the best are the common old sort, and the largest Masculin, of which this last is much improved by budding upon a Peach Stock. I esteem none of this Fruit but the *Brussels* Apricock, which grows a Standard, and is one of the best Fruits we have, and which I first brought over among us.

The number of good Pears, eſpecially Summer, is very great, but the beſt are the Blanquet, Robin, Rouſſelet. Roſati, Sans Pepin, Jargonell. Of the Autumn, the Buree, the Vertelongue, and the Bergamot. Of the Winter, the Vergoluz, Chaſſeray, St. Michael, St. Germain, and Ambret: I eſteem the Bon-Cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of Plums the beſt are St. Julian, St. Catharine, white and blew Pedrigon, Queen-mother, Sheen-Plum, and Cheſton.

Beyond the ſorts I have named, none I think need trouble Himſelf, but multiply theſe, rather than make room for more kinds; and I am content to leave this Regiſter, having been ſo often deſired it by my Friends upon their deſigns of Gardning.

I need ſay nothing of Apples, being ſo well known among us; but the beſt of our Climat, and I believe of all others, is the Golden Pippin, and for all ſorts of uſes: The next is the Kentiſh Pippin; but theſe I think are as far from their perfection with us as Grapes, and yield to thoſe of *Normandy*, as theſe to thoſe in *Anjou*, and even theſe to thoſe in *Gaſcony*.

Gascony. In other Fruits the defect of Sun is in a great measure supplied by the advantage of Walls.

The next care to that of suiting Trees with the Soyl, is that of suiting Fruits to the Position of Walls. Grapes, Peaches, and Winter Pears to be good, must be planted upon full South or South-east; Figs are best upon South-east, but will do well upon East, and South-West: The West are proper for Cherries, Plums or Apricocks, but all of them are improved by a South Wall both as to early and taste: North, North-West, or North-East deserve nothing but Greens; these should be divided by Woodbines or Jessemins between every Green, and the other Walls, by a Vine between every Fruit-Tree; the best sorts upon the South-Walls, the common White and Black upon East and West, because the other Trees being many of them (especially Peaches) very transitory, some apt to die with hard Winters, others to be cut down and make room for new Fruits: Without this method the Walls are left for several Years unfurnished; whereas the Vines on each side cover the void space in one Summer, and when the other Trees are grown, make

only a Pillar between them of two or three Foot broad.

Whoever would have the beſt Fruits in the moſt perfection our Climat will allow, ſhould not only take care of giving them as much Sun, but alſo as much Air as he can; no Tree, unleſs Dwarf, ſhould be ſuffered to grow within Forty Foot of your beſt Walls, but the farther they lie open, is ſtill the better. Of all others this Care is moſt neceſſary in Vines, which are obſerved abroad to make the beſt Wines, where they lie upon ſides of Hills, and ſo moſt expoſed to the Air and the Winds. The way of pruning them too, is beſt learnt from the Vineyards, where you ſee nothing in Winter, but what looks like a dead ſtump; and upon our Walls they ſhould be left but like a ragged Staff, not above two or three Eyes at moſt upon the Bearing Branches; and the lower the Vine, and fewer the Branches, the Grapes will be ſtill the better.

The beſt Figure of a Garden is either a Square or an Oblong, and either upon a Flat or a Deſcent; they have all their Beauties, but the beſt I eſteem an Oblong upon a Deſcent. The Beauty, the Air, the View make amends for the

expence

expence, which is very great in finiſhing and ſupporting the Terras-walks, in levelling the Parterres, and in the ſtone-Stairs that are neceſſary from one to the other.

The perfecteſt Figure of a Garden I ever ſaw, either at home or abroad, was that of *Moor-Park* in *Hartfordſhire*, when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the Counteſs of *Bedford*, eſteemed among the greateſt Wits of Her time, and celebrated by Doctor *Donne*; and with very great Care, excellent Contrivance, and much Coſt; but greater Sums may be thrown away without Effect or Honour, if there want Senſe in proportion to Mony, or if Nature be not followed, which I take to be the great Rule in this, and perhaps in every thing elſe, as far as the Conduct not only of our Lives, but our Governments. And whether the greateſt of mortal Men ſhould attempt the forcing of Nature, may beſt be judged, by obſerving how ſeldom God Almighty does it Himſelf, by ſo few true and undiſputed Miracles, as we ſee or hear of in the World. For my own part, I know not three wiſer Precepts for the Conduct either of Princes or private Men, than

-------- Servare Modum, Finemq; tueri,
Naturamq; ſequi.

Becauſe I take the Garden I have named, to have been in all kinds the moſt beautiful and perfect, at leaſt in the Figure and Diſpoſition, that I have ever ſeen, I will deſcribe it for a Model to thoſe that meet with ſuch a Situation, and are above the regards of common Expence. It lies on the ſide of a Hill, (upon which the Houſe ſtands) but not very ſteep. The length of the Houſe, where the beſt Rooms, and of moſt uſe or pleaſure are, lies upon the breadth of the Garden, the great Parlour opens into the middle of a Terras Gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may be as I remember about three hundred Paces long, and broad in Proportion, the Border ſet with Standard Lawrels, and at large diſtances, which have the Beauty of Orange-Trees out of Flower and Fruit; from this Walk are three Deſcents by many ſtone Steps in the middle and at each end, into a very large Parterre. This is divided into Quarters by Gravel-Walks, and adorned with two Fountains and eight Statues

tues in the ſeveral Quarters; at the end of the Terras-Walk are two Summer-Houſes, and the ſides of the Parterre are ranged with two large Cloyſters open to the Garden, upon Arches of Stone, and ending with two other Summer-Houſes even with the Cloyſters, which are paved with Stone, and deſigned for Walks of Shade, there being none other in the whole Parterre. Over theſe two Cloyſters are two Terraſſes covered with Lead, and fenced with Baluſters, and the Paſſage into theſe Airy Walks is out of the two Summer-Houſes at the end of the firſt Terras-walk. The Cloyſter facing the South is covered with Vines, and would have been proper for an Orange-houſe, and the other for Myrtles, or other more common Greens, and had, I doubt not, been caſt for that purpoſe, if this piece of Gardning had been then in as much Vogue as it is now.

From the middle of this Parterre is a deſcent by many ſteps flying on each ſide of a Grotto that lies between them (covered with Lead and Flat) into the lower Garden, which is all Fruit-trees ranged about the ſeveral Quarters of a Wilderneſs which is very ſhady; the

Walks here are all Green, the Grotto imbeliſh'd with Figures of Shell-Rock-work, Fountains and Water-works. If the Hill had not ended with the lower Garden, and the Wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the Park, they might have added a third Quarter of all Greens; but this want is ſupplied by a Garden on the other ſide the Houſe, which is all of that ſort, very wild, ſhady, and adorned with rough Rock-work and Fountains.

This was *Moor-Park*, when I was acquainted with it, and the ſweeteſt place, I think, that I have ſeen in my Life, either before or ſince, at home or abroad; what it is now I can give little account, having paſſed through ſeveral hands that have made great Changes in Gardens as well as Houſe; but the remembrance of what it was, is too pleaſant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have miſtaken the Figure of it, which may ſerve for a Pattern to the beſt Gardens of our manner, and that are moſt proper for our Country and Climat.

What

What I have ſaid of the beſt Forms of Gardens, is meant only of ſuch as are in ſome ſort regular; for there may be other Forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more Beauty than any of the others; but they muſt owe it to ſome extraordinary diſpoſitions of Nature in the Seat, or ſome great race of Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance, which may reduce many diſagreeing parts into ſome Figure, which ſhall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have ſeen in ſome places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chineſes*; a People, whoſe way of thinking, ſeems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their Country does. Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly, in ſome certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities; our Walks and our Trees ranged ſo, as to anſwer one another, and at exact Diſtances. The *Chineſes* ſcorn this way of Planting, and ſay a Boy that can tell an hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in ſtrait Lines, and over againſt one another, and to what Length and Extent he pleaſes. But their greateſt reach of Imagination, is employed

ployed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty shall be great, and strike the Eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observ'd. And though we have hardly any Notion of this sort of Beauty, yet they have a particular Word to express it; and where they find it hit their Eye at first sight, they say the *Sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of Esteem. And whoever observes the Work upon the best Indian Gowns, or the painting upon their best Skreens or Purcellans, will find their Beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order. But I should hardly advise any of these Attempts in the Figure of Gardens among us; they are Adventures of too hard atchievement for any common Hands; and tho there may be more Honour if they succeed well, yet there is more Dishonour if they fail, and 'tis twenty to one they will; whereas in regular Figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable Faults.

The Picture I have met with in some relations of a Garden made by a Dutch Governour of their Colony, upon the Cape *de Buen Esperance* is admirable, and described to be of an Oblong Figure,

very

very large Extent, and divided into four Quarters by long and croſs Walks, ranged with all ſorts of Orange-trees, Lemmons, Limes, and Citrons; each of theſe four Quarters is planted with the Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Plants that are native and proper to each of the four parts of the World; ſo as in this one Incloſure are to be found the ſeveral Gardens of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africk*, and *America*. There could not be in my mind, a greater Thought of a Gardner, nor a nobler Idea of a Garden, nor better ſuited or choſen for the Climat, which is about Thirty Degrees, and may paſs for the *Heſperides* of our Age, whatever or where-ever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the Iſlands or Continent upon the South-Weſt of *Africa*, but what their Forms or their Fruits were, none that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their Golden Apples were for taſte, or only for ſight, as thoſe of *Montezuma* were in *Mexico*, who had large Trees with Stocks, Branches, Leafs and Fruits, all admirably compoſed and wrought of Gold; but this was only ſtupendious in coſt and art, and anſwers not at all in my

my Opinion, the delicious Varieties of Nature in other Gardens.

What I have said of Gardning, is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, so as to make no great Faults, nor be much imposed upon in the Designs of that kind, which I think ought to be applauded and encouraged in all Countries. That and Building being a sort of Creation, that raise beautiful Fabricks and Figures out of nothing, that make the Convenience and Pleasure of all private Habitations, that employ many Hands, and Circulate much Mony among the poorer sort and Artisans, that are a publick Service to ones Country, by the Example as well as effect, which adorn the Scene, improve the Earth, and even the Air it self in some Degree. The rest that belongs to this Subject, must be a Gardners part, upon whose Skill, Diligence and Care, the Beauty of the Grounds, and Excellence of the Fruits will much depend. Though if the Soyl and Sorts be well chosen, well suited, and disposed to the Walls, the Ignorance or Carelessness of the Servants can hardly leave the Master disappointed.

I will not enter further upon his Trade, than by three ſhort Directions or Advices: Firſt, In all Plantations either for his Maſter or himſelf, to draw his Trees out of ſome Nurſery, that is upon a leaner and lighter Soyl than his own where he removes them; without this care they will not thrive in ſeveral years, perhaps never, and muſt make way for new, which ſhould be avoided all that can be; for Life is too ſhort and uncertain, to be renewing often your Plantations. The Walls of your Garden without their Furniture, look as ill as thoſe of your Houſe; ſo that you cannot dig up your Garden too often, nor too ſeldom cut it down.

The Second is, In all Trees you raiſe, to have ſome regard to the Stock, as well as the Graft or Bud; for the firſt will have a ſhare in giving Taſte and Seaſon to the Fruits it produces, how little ſoever it is uſually obſerved by our Gardners. I have found Grafts of the ſame Tree upon a Bon-cretien-Stock, bring Chaſſeray Pears, that laſted till *March*, but with a Rind Green and Rough: And others, upon a Metre John-Stock, with a ſmooth and yellow Skin, which

were

were Rotten in *November*. I am apt to think, all the difference between the St. Michel and the Ambrette Pear (which has puzzled our Gardners) is only what comes from this Variety of the Stocks; and by this perhaps, as well as by raiſing from Stones and Kernels, moſt of the new Fruits are produced every Age. So the Grafting a Crab upon a white Thorn brings the Lazarolli, a Fruit eſteemed at *Rome*, tho I do not find it worth Cultivating here; and I believe the Cedrato (or Hermaphrodite) came from Budding a Citron upon an Orange. The beſt Peaches are raiſed by Buds of the beſt Fruits upon Stocks, growing from Stones of the beſt Peaches; and ſo the beſt Apples and Pears, from the beſt kinds grafted upon Stocks, from Kernels alſo of the beſt ſorts, with reſpect to the Seaſon, as well as Beauty and Taſte. And I believe ſo many excellent Winter-Pears as have come into *France* ſince forty years, may have been found out by Grafting Summer-Pears of the fineſt taſte and moſt water, upon Winter-Stocks.

The third Advice is, To take the greateſt care and pains in preſerving your Trees from the worſt Diſeaſe, to which thoſe of the beſt Fruits are ſubject in the beſt

beſt Soils, and upon the beſt Walls. 'Tis what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to obſerve it by the Experience of my Gardens, though I have ſince met with it in Books both Ancient and Modern. I found my Vines, Peaches, Apricocks and Plums upon my beſt South-Walls, and ſometimes upon my Weſt, apt for ſeveral years to a Soot, or Smuttineſs upon their Leafs firſt, and then upon their Fruits, which were good for nothing the years they were ſo affected. My Orange-Trees were likewiſe ſubject to it, and never proſpered while they were ſo; and I have known ſome Collections quite deſtroyed by it. But I cannot ſay, that I ever found either my Figs or Pears infected with it, nor any Trees upon my Eaſt-Walls, though I do not well Conjecture at the reaſon. The reſt were ſo ſpoiled with it, that I complained to ſeveral of the oldeſt and beſt Gardners of *England*, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the ſame Misfortune, and eſteemed it ſome blight of the Spring. I obſerved after ſome years, that the diſeaſed Trees, had very frequent upon their Stocks and Branches, a ſmall Inſect of a dark brown Colour,

Colour, figured like a Shield, and about the size of a large Wheat Corn: They stick close to the Bark, and in many places covered it, especially about the Joynts: In Winter they are dry, and thin-shell'd, but in Spring they begin to grow soft, and to fill with Moisture, and throw a Spawn like a black dust upon the Stocks, as well as the Leafs and Fruit.

I met afterwards with the mention of this Disease as known among Orange-Trees, in a Book written upon that Subject in *Holland*, and since in *Pausanias*, as a thing so much taken notice of in *Greece*, that the Author describes a certain sort of Earth which Cures *Pediculum Vitis*, or, *the Lice of the Vine*. This is of all others, the most pestilent Disease of the best Fruit-trees, and upon the very best Soyls of Gravel and Sand (especially where they are too hungry:) And is so contagious, that it is propagated to new Plants, raised from old Trees that are infected, and spreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine that it lies in the Roots, and that the best Cure were by Application there. But I have tryed all sorts of Soyl without effect, and can

pre-

ſcribe no other remedy, than to Prune your Trees as cloſe as you can, eſpecially the tainted Wood, then to waſh them very clean with a wet Bruſh, ſo as not to leave one Shell upon them that you can diſcern: And upon your Oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every Leaf, as well as Bruſhing clean the Stocks and Branches. Without theſe cares and diligences, you had better root up any Trees that are infected, renew all the Mold in your Borders or Boxes, and Plant new ſound Trees, rather than ſuffer the diſappointments and vexation of your Old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know ſomething of this Trade, ſince I have ſo long allowed my ſelf to be good for nothing elſe, which few Men will do, or enjoy their Gardens, without often looking abroad to ſee how other matters paſs, what Motions in the State, and what Invitations they may hope for into other Scenes.

For my own part, as the Country Life, and this part of it more particularly, were the Inclination of my Youth it ſelf, ſo they are the Pleaſure of my Age; and I can truly ſay, that among many great Employments that have

fallen to my ſhare, I have never asked or ſought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to eſcape from them, into the eaſe and freedom of a private Scene, where a Man may go his own way and his own Pace, in the common Paths or Circles of Life.

Inter cuncta leges & percunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Quid curas nimiæ, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid purè tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An ſecretum iter, & fallentis ſemita vitæ.

But above all, the Learned read and ask
By what means you may gently paſs your Age,
What leſſens Care, what makes thee thine own Friend,
What truly calms the Mind, Honour or Wealth,
Or elſe a private path of ſtealing Life.

Theſe are Queſtions that a Man ought at leaſt to ask himſelf, whether he asks others or no, and to chooſe his courſe of Life rather by his own Humour and Temper, than by common Accidents,

or

or Advice of Friends, at leaſt if the Spaniſh Proverb be true, That a Fool knows more in his own Houſe than a Wiſe Man in anothers.

The meaſure of chooſing well, is, Whether a Man likes what he has choſen, which I thank God has befallen me; and though among the Follies of my Life, Building and Planting have not been the leaſt, and have coſt me more than I have the confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompenſed by the ſweetneſs and ſatisfaction of this Retreat, where ſince my Reſolution taken of never entring again into any Publick Employments, I have paſſed Five Years without ever going once to Town, though I am almoſt in ſight of it, and have a Houſe there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any ſort of Affectation, as ſome have thought it, but a meer want of Deſire or Humour to make ſo ſmall a Remove; for when I am in this corner I can truly ſay with *Horace*,

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid ſentire putas, quid credis amice precare?

Sit mihi quod nunc est etiam minus, ut mihi vivam,
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volent Dii.
Sit bona librorum, & provisæ frugis in annum
Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem spe pendulus horæ,
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem qui donat & aufert.

Me when the cold Digentian *Stream revives,*
What does my Friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet less possess so I may live
What e're of Life remains, unto my self.
May I have Books enough, and one years store
Not to depend upon each doubtful hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove *to pray,*
Who as He pleases gives and takes away.

That which makes the Cares of Gardning more necessary, or at least more excusable, is, that all Men eat Fruit that can get it, so as the Choice is, only whether one will eat good or ill; and between these the difference is not greater, in point of taste and delicacy, than it is of Health: For the first I will only say, That whoever has used to eat good,

will

will do very great penance when he comes to ill: And for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe Fruit is extreamly unwholſom, and cauſes ſo many untimely deaths, or ſo much ſickneſs about Autumn, in all great Cities where 'tis greedily ſold as well as eaten, ſo no part of Dyet, in any Seaſon, is ſo healthful, ſo natural, and ſo agreeable to the Stomach, as good and well-ripen'd Fruits; for this I make the meaſure of their being good; and let the Kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our Climat, they are better never planted or never eaten. I can ſay it for my ſelf at leaſt, and all my Friends, that the Seaſon of Summer Fruits is ever the Seaſon of Health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of *June* to the end of *September*, and for all Sickneſſes of the Stomach (from which moſt others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are like me, the moſt ſubject to them, ſhall complain, when ever they eat thirty or forty Cherries before Meals, or the like proportion of Strawberries, white Figs, ſoft Peaches, or Grapes perfectly Ripe. But theſe after *Michaelmas* I do not think Wholſom with us, unleſs

attended by ſome fit of hot and dry Weather more than is uſual after that Seaſon; When the Froſts or the Rain have taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the Autumn and Winter-Pears, are to be reckon'd in Seaſon, beſides Apples, which, with Cherries, are of all others the moſt innocent Food, and perhaps the beſt Phyſick. Now whoever will be ſure to eat good Fruit, muſt do it out of a Garden of his own; for beſides the Choice ſo neceſſary in the Sorts, the Soyl, and ſo many other Circumſtances that go to compoſe a good Garden, or produce good Fruits, there is ſomething very nice in gathering them, and chooſing the beſt, even from the ſame Tree. The beſt ſorts of all among us, which I eſteem the white Figs and the ſoft Peaches, will not carry without ſuffering. The beſt Fruit that is bought, has no more of the Maſters Care, than how to raiſe the greateſt gains; His buſineſs is to have as much Fruit as he can upon as few Trees: Whereas the way to have it excellent, is to have but little upon many Trees. So that for all things out of a Garden, either of Sallads or Fruits, a Poor Man will eat better,

that

that has one of his own, than a Rich Man that has none. And this is all I think of, neceſſary and uſeful to be known upon this Subject.

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ESSAY III.

Of Heroick Virtue.

AMONG all the Endowments of Nature, or Improvements of Art, wherein Men have excelled and distinguished themselves most in the World, there are two only that have had the honour of being called Divine, and of giving that Esteem or Appellation to such as possessed them in very eminent Degrees, which are, Heroick Virtue, and Poetry: For Prophecy cannot be esteemed any Excellency of Nature or of Art, but where-ever it is true, is an immediate Gift of God, and bestowed according to His Pleasure, and upon Subjects of the meanest Capacity, upon Women or Children, or even things inanimate, as the Stones placed in the High-Priest's Breast-Plate, which were a sacred Oracle among the Jews.

I will leave Poetry to an Eſſay by it ſelf, and dedicate this only to that antiquated Shrine of Heroick Vertue, which however forgotten, or unknown in latter Ages, muſt yet be allowed, to have produced in the World, the advantages moſt valued among Men, and which moſt diſtinguiſh their Underſtandings and their Lives, from the reſt of their fellow Creatures.

Though it be eaſier to deſcribe Heroick Vertue, by the effects and Examples, than by Cauſes or Definitions, yet it may be ſaid to ariſe, from ſome great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius tranſcending the common race of Mankind, in Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Fortitude. Theſe ingredients advantaged by Birth, improved by Education, and aſſiſted by Fortune, ſeem to make that noble compoſition, which gives ſuch a luſtre to thoſe who have poſſeſt it, as made them appear to common eyes, ſomething more than Mortals, and to have been born of ſome mixture, between Divine and Humane Race; To have been honoured and obey'd in their Lives, and after their Deaths bewailed and adored.

The

The greatneſs of their Wiſdom, appeared in the Excellency of their Inventions; And theſe by the Goodneſs of their Nature, were turned and exerciſed upon ſuch Subjects, as were of general good to Mankind in the common uſes of life, or to their own Countries in the Inſtitutions of ſuch Laws, Orders or Governments, as were of moſt eaſe, ſafety and advantage to Civil Society. Their Valour was imployed, in defending their own Countries from the violence of ill Men at home, or Enemies abroad, in reducing their barbarous Neighbours, to the ſame forms and orders of Civil Lives and Inſtitutions; or in relieving others, from the Cruelties and Oppreſſions of Tyranny and Violence. Theſe are all comprehended, in three Verſes of *Virgil*, deſcribing the bleſſed Seats in *Elyſium*, and thoſe that enjoyed them.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

Here

Have fought for their Country, wounds receiv'd,
Or who by Arts invented, Life improv'd,
Or by deserving made themselves remembred.

And indeed, the Character of Heroick Virtue seems to be in short, The deserving well of Mankind. Where this is chief in design, and great in success, the pretence to a Heroe lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have said, that this Excellency of Genius must be native, because, it can never grow to any great heigth, if it be only acquired or affected; But it must be ennobled by Birth, to give it more Lustre, Esteem and Authority; it must be cultivated by Education and Instruction, to improve its growth, and direct its end and application; and it must be assisted by Fortune, to preserve it to maturity; because the noblest Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, though never so bravely, in its first enterprises, cannot deserve enough of Mankind, to pretend, to so great a reward, as the esteem of Heroick Virtue. And yet perhaps, many a person has dyed, in the first battle or adventure He atchieved,

and

and lies buried in silence and oblivion, who had He outlived as many dangers, as *Alexander* did, might have shined as bright in Honour and Fame. Now since so many Stars, go to the making up of this Constellation, 'tis no wonder, it has so seldom appeared in the World; nor that when it does, it is received and followed, with so much gazing, and so much veneration.

Among the simpler Ages or Generations of Men, in several Countries, Those who were the first Inventers of Arts generally received and applauded as most necessary or useful to human life, were honoured alive, and after death worshipped as Gods. And so were those, who had been the first Authors of any good and well instituted civil Government in any Country, by which, the native Inhabitants were reduced from savage and brutish lives, to the safety and convenience of Societies, the enjoyment of Property, the observance of Orders, and the obedience of Laws, which were followed by Security, Plenty, Civility, Riches, Industry and all kinds of Arts. The evident advantages and common benefits of these sorts of Institutions, made People generally inclined at home

to obey ſuch Governors, the Neighbour Nations to eſteem them, and thereby, willingly enter into their Protection, or eaſily yield to the force of their Arms and Proweſs. Thus Conqueſts began to be made in the World, and upon the ſame deſigns, of reducing Barbarous Nations unto Civil and well Regulated Conſtitutions and Governments, and of ſubduing thoſe by force to obey them, who refuſed to accept willingly the advantages of Life or condition, that were thereby offered them. Such Perſons of old, who excelling in thoſe Vertues, were attended by theſe fortunes, and made great and famous Conqueſts, and left them under good Conſtitutions of Laws and Governments; Or who inſtituted excellent and laſting orders and frames of any Political ſtate, in what compaſs ſoever of Country, or under what Names ſoever of Civil Government, were obeyed as Princes or Law-givers in their own times, and were called in after Ages, by the name of Heroes.

From theſe ſources, I believe may be deduced all or moſt of the Theology or Idolatry, of all the ancient Pagan Countries, within the compaſs of the

Four

Four great Empires, ſo much renowned in Story, and perhaps of ſome others, as great in their Conſtitutions, and as extended in their Conqueſts, though not ſo much celebrated or obſerved by Learned Men.

From all I can gather, upon the Surveys of ancient Story, I am apt to conclude, that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*, and expelled that Kingdom by his Son. That *Jupiter* having driven out his Father from *Crete*, conquered *Greece*, or at leaſt the *Peloponeſus*; and having among thoſe Inhabitants, introduced the uſe of Agriculture, of Property and Civility, and eſtabliſhed a juſt and regular Kingdom, was by them adored as chief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nulli ſubigerunt arva coloni.

That His Brothers, Siſters, Sons, and Daughters, were worſhipped likewiſe, for the inventions of things chiefly uſeful, neceſſary, or agreeable to Humane Life. So *Neptune*, for the art or improvement of Navigation; *Vulcan*, for that of Forging Braſs and Iron; *Minerva*, of Spinning; *Apollo*, of Muſick

and

and Poetry; *Mercury*, of Manual Arts and Merchandise; *Bacchus*, for the invention of Wine; and *Ceres* of Corn.

I do not find any traces left, by which a probable conjecture may be made of the Age, wherein this race of Saturn flourished in the World, nor consequently, what length of time they were adored; for as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those Names, in very different times, and perhaps Countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt*, and that the last, who was Son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonauts*, was very modern, in respect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the race of *Jupiter*. But the Story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are said to have Conquered *India*, is grown too obscure, by the dark shades of so great Antiquity, or disguised by the mask of Fables, and Fiction of Poets.

The same divine Honours, were rendered by the *Egyptians* to *Osyris*, in whose Temple, was inscribed on a Pillar, that he had gone through all Countries, and every where taught Men all that he found necessary for the common

mon good of Mankind, By the *Assyrians*, to *Belus*, the Founder of that Kingdom, and great Inventor or Improver of Astronomy, among the *Caldæans*, By the Original *Latins* or *Hetruscans*, to *Janus*, who introduced Agriculture into *Italy*; and these Three were worshipped as Gods, by those ancient and Learned Nations.

Ninus and *Sesostris*, were renowned for their mighty Conquests, and esteemed the two great Heroes of *Assyria* and of *Egypt*; the first having extended his Victories, to the River *Indus*, and the other, those of the *Ægyptians*, over *Asia*, as far as *Pontus*. The time of *Ninus* is controverted among Historians, being by some placed, Thirteen, by others, Eight Hundred Years before *Sardanapalus*: But that of *Sesostris*, is in my opinion, much harder to be affirmed. For I do not see, how their opinion can be allowed, who make him to be *Sesack*, that took *Jerusalem* in the time of *Rehoboam*, since no more is said in Scripture, of the progress of that Expedition: Nor is the time of it mentioned in the *Græcian* Story, though some Records are there found, of all that passed after the *Trojan* War, and

with distinction enough. But the most ancient among them, speak of the Reign of *Sesostris*, and his mighty Conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the Kingdom of *Cholcos*, to have descended from a Colony there Established by this famous King, as a Monument how far Northward his Victories had extended. Now this Kingdom flourished in the time of the *Argonauts*, and excelled in those Arts of Magick and Enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of *Egypt*; so as I think the Sory of this King must be reckoned as almost covered with the Ruins of Time.

The two next Heroes that enter the Scene, are the *Theban Hercules*, and *Theseus*, both renowned among the *Greeks*, for freeing their Country from Fierce Wild Beasts, or from fiercer and wilder Men that infested them; from Robbers and Spoilers, or from cruel and Lawless Tyrants. *Theseus* was besides honoured as Founder of the more Civil State or Kingdom of *Athens*, which City first began to flourish and grow great by his Institutions, though His Father had been King of the Scattered Villages or Inhabitants of *Attica*.

In

In the ſame Age, flouriſhed *Minos* King of *Crete*, reputed to be Son of *Jupiter*, who by the force and number of his Fleets, became Lord of the *Ægean* Iſlands, and moſt of the Coaſts of *Greece*, and was renowned as a Heroe, for the juſtneſs of his Laws, and the greatneſs of his Reign.

For the Heroes, in the time of the *Trojan* Wars, ſo much celebrated in thoſe two charming Poems, which from them were called Heroical, though 'tis eaſie to take their Characters from thoſe admirable Pictures drawn of them by *Homer* and *Virgil*, yet 'tis hard to find them in the Relations of any Authentick Story. That which may be obſerved, is, that all the Conduct and Courage of *Hector*, were imployed in the defence of his Country and his Father againſt a Foreign Invaſion: The valour of *Achilles* was exerciſed in the common cauſe, wherein his whole Nation were engaged upon the fatal Revenge of the Rape of *Helen*, though he had been aſſured by certain Prophecies, that he ſhould dye before the Walls of *Troy*; and *Æneas*, having imployed His utmoſt Proweſs in defence of his Country, ſaved his Father and the *Trojan* Gods, ga-

thered up the Remainders of his Ruined Country, ſailed to *Italy*, and there Founded a Kingdom, which gave riſe to the Greateſt Empire of the World.

About Two Hundred and Fifty Years after theſe, *Lycurgus* inſtituted the *Spartan* State, upon Laws and Orders ſo different from thoſe uſual in thoſe Times and Countries, that more than Humane Authority ſeemed neceſſary to eſtabliſh them; and the *Pythian* Prieſteſs told him, ſhe did not know whether ſhe ſhould call Him a God or a Man. And indeed no Civil or Politick Conſtitutions have been more celebrated than His, by the beſt Authors of ancient Story and Times.

The next Heroes we meet with upon Record, were *Romulus* and *Numa*, of which the firſt, Founded the *Roman* City and State, and the other, Poliſhed the Civil and Religious Orders of both in ſuch a degree, that the Original Inſtitutions of theſe two Lawgivers continued as long, as that Glorious State.

The next Heroe that came upon the Stage, was *Cyrus*, who freed his Country from their Servitude to the *Medes*, erected the *Perſian* Empire upon the Ruins

Ruins of the *Assyrian*; adorned it with excellent Constitutions and Laws, and extended it Westward, by the Conquest of all the lesser *Asia* and *Lydia*, to the very Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea. Whether the Picture of *Cyrus* drawn by *Xenophon*, be after the life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the truest Character that can be given of Heroick Virtue: And 'tis certain, His Memory was always sacred among the *Persians*, though not prosecuted by Divine Honours, because that Nation adored one Supream God, without any Representation or Idol; and in the next place the Sun, to whom alone they offered Sacrifices.

Alexander, was the next, renowned in Story, having founded the *Grecian* Monarchy, by the entire Conquest of the *Persian*, and extended it, by the addition of *Greece* and *Macedon*. But He attained not the esteem or appellation of an Heroe, though He affected and courted it by His Mother's Stories of His Birth, and by the Flatteries of the Priest and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. His pretence was justly excluded, by His Intemperance in Wine, in Anger, and in Lust, and more yet by His Cruelties and

His Pride; for true Honour has something in it so humorous, as to follow commonly those, who avoid or neglect it, rather than those, who seek and pursue it. Besides, He instituted no orders or frame of Government, in the Kingdoms either of *Macedon* or *Persia*; but rather corrupted and disordered those He found: And seems to have owed the success of His Enterprises, to the Councels and Conduct of His Fathers old Officers, after whose disgrace and fall, immediately succeeded that of his Fortune and his Life. Yet he must be allowed, to have much contributed to his own Glory and Fame, by a great native Genius and unlimited Bounty, and by the greatest boldness of Enterprise, scorn of Danger, and fearlessness of Death that could be in any Mortal Man. He was a Prodigy of Valour and of Fortune, but whether his Virtues or his Faults were greatest, is hard to be decided.

Cæsar, who is commonly esteemed to have been Founder of the *Roman* Empire, seems to have possessed very eminently all the Qualities, both native and acquired, that enter into the Composition of an Heroe, but failed of the

Attribute

Attribute or Honour, becauſe He overthrew the Laws of his own Country, and Orders of his State, and raiſed his greatneſs by the Conqueſt of his Fellow Citizens, more than of their Enemies; and after he came to the Empire, lived not to perfect the frame of ſuch a Government, or atchieve ſuch Conqueſts as he ſeems to have had in deſign.

Theſe Four great Monarchies, with the ſmaller Kingdoms, Principalities and States, that were ſwallowed up by their Conqueſts and Extent, make the Subject of what is called Ancient Story, and are ſo excellently related by the many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, ſtill extant and in common vogue, ſo commented, enlarged, reduced into order of time and place, by many more of the Modern Writers, that they are known to all Men, who profeſs to ſtudy or entertain themſelves with Reading. The Orders and Inſtitutions of theſe ſeveral Governments, their progreſs and duration, their ſucceſſes or decays, their events and revolutions, make the common Theams of Schools and Colledges, the Study of Learned, and the Converſation of Idle Men, the Arguments of Hiſtories, Poems and Romances. From

the Actions and Fortunes of these Princes and Law-givers, are drawn the common Examples of Vertue and Honour, the Reproaches of Vice, which are illustrated by the Felicities or Misfortunes that attend them. From the Events and Revolutions of these Governments, are drawn the usual Instructions of Princes and Statesmen, and the Discourses and Reflections of the greatest Wits and Writers upon the Politicks. From the Orders and Institutions, the Laws and Customs of these Empires and States, the Sages of Law and of Justice, in all Countries, endeavour to deduce the very common Laws of Nature and of Nations, as well as the particular Civil or Municipal of Kingdoms and Provinces. From these they draw their Arguments and Presidents in all Disputes concerning the pretended Excellencies or Defaults of the several sorts of Governments that are extolled or decried, accused or defended. Concerning the Rights of War and Peace, of Invasion and Defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of Authority and Obedience, of Prerogative and Liberty, in Civil Contentions.

Yet the Stage of all theſe Empires and Revolutions, of all theſe Heroick Actions, and theſe famous Conſtitutions, (how great or how wiſe ſoever any of them are eſteemed) is but a limited compaſs of Earth, that leaves out many vaſt Regions of the World, the which, though accounted barbarous, and little taken notice of in Story, or by any celebrated Authors, yet have a right to come in for their Voice, in agreeing upon the Laws of Nature and Nations (for ought I know) as well as the reſt, that have arrogated it wholly to themſelves; and beſides, in my Opinion, there are ſome of them, that upon enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the Wiſdom of their Conſtitutions, the extent of their Conqueſts, and the duration of their Empires or States.

The famous Scene of the four great Monarchies, was that midland part of the World; which was bounded on the Eaſt by the River *Indus*, and on the Weſt by the Atlantick Ocean; on the North by the River *Oxus*, the Caſpian and the Euxine Seas, and the *Danube*; on the South by the Mountain *Atlas*, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and from thence to the Mouth

Mouth of *Indus*, by the Southern Ocean.

'Tis true, that *Semiramis* and *Alexander* are ſaid to have conquered *India*; but the firſt ſeems only to have ſubdued ſome parts of it that lie upon the Borders of that River; and *Alexander*'s Atchievments there, ſeem rather like a Journey than a Conqueſt; and though He pierced through the Country, from *Indus* to *Ganges*, yet He left even undiſcovered, the greateſt parts of that Mighty Region, which, by the Ancients was reported, to contain an hundred and eighteen great and populous Nations, and which, for ought I know, were never conquer'd but by the *Tartars*.

I reckon neither *Scythia* nor *Arabia* for parts of that ancient Scene of Action and Story; for tho *Cyrus* and *Darius* entred the firſt, yet they ſoon left it, one with loſs of his Honour, and the other of his Life. And for *Arabia*, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well diſcovered or ſurveyed, nor much more known, than by the Commerce of their Spices and Perfumes. I mean that part of it, which is called *Arabia Fœlix*, and is environed on three ſides by the Sea; for the Northern Skirts,

Skirts, that joyn to *Syria*, have entred into the Conqueſts or Commerce of the four great Empires; but that which ſeems to have ſecured the other, is the ſtony and ſandy Deſarts, through which no Armies can paſs for want of Water.

Now if we conſider the Map of the World, as it lies at preſent before us, ſince the diſcoveries made by the Navigations of theſe three laſt Centuries, we ſhall eaſily find what vaſt Regions there are, which have been left out of that ancient Scene on all ſides: And tho paſſing for barbarous, they have not been eſteemed worth the Pens of any good Authors, and are known only by common and poor Relations of Traders, Seamen, or Travellers; yet by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that ſome of theſe out-lying Parts of the World, however unknown by the Ancients, and overlookt by the modern Learned, may yet have afforded as much matter of Action and Speculation, as the other Scene ſo much celebrated in Story. I mean not only in their vaſt Extent, and variety of Soils and Clymats, with their natural Productions, but even in the excellent Conſtitutions of Laws and Cuſtoms

Customs, the wise and lasting Foundations of States and Empires, and the mighty Flights of Conquests that have risen from such Orders and Institutions.

Now because the first Scene is such a beaten Road, and this so little known or traced, I am content to take a short Survey of four great Scheams of Government or Empire, that have sprung and grown to mighty heights, lived very long, and flourished much in these remote (and as we will have it, more ignoble) Regions of the World: Whereof one is at the fartheſt degree of our Eastern Longitude, being the Kingdom of *China*; The next is at the fartheſt Western, which is that of *Peru*; The third is the utmost of our Northern Latitude, which is *Scythia* or *Tartary*; And the fourth is *Arabia*, which lies very far upon the Southern.

For that vast Continent of *Africa*, that extends between Mount *Atlas* and the Southern Ocean; Tho it be found to swarm in People, to abound in Gold, to contain many great Kingdoms, and infinite smaller Principalities, to be pierced by those two famous Rivers of the *Nile* and the *Niger*, to produce a

Race

Race of Men that ſeem hardly of the ſame Species with the reſt of Mankind; Yet I cannot find any Traces of that Heroick Virtue, that may entitle them to any ſhare in this Eſſay. For whatever remains in Story of *Atlas*, or his Kingdom of old, is ſo obſcured with Age or Fables, that it may go along with thoſe of the Atlantick Iſlands, tho I know not whether theſe themſelves were by *Solon* or *Plato* intended for Fables or no, or for Relations they had met with among the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and which perhaps were by them otherwiſe eſteemed.

SECT.

SECT. II.

THE Great and Ancient Kingdom of *China* is bounded to the East and South by the Ocean, to the North by a Stone Wall of Twelve Hundred Miles long, raised against the Invasion of the *Tartars*; and to the West, by vast and unpassable Mountains or Desarts, which the Labour or Curiosity of no mortal Man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any Account of. When *Alexander* would have passed the River *Ganges*, He was told by the *Indians*, that nothing beyond it was Inhabited, and that all was either impassable Marishes, lying between great Rivers, or sandy Desarts, or steep Mountains, full only of Wild Beasts, but wholly destitute of Mankind. So as *Ganges* was esteemed by Ancients the Bound of the Eastern World: Since the use of the Compass, and extent of Navigation, it is found that there are several populous Kingdoms lie between

Ganges

Ganges and the Deſarts or Mountains that divide them from *China*, as *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cirote*, and others, lie in this ſpace, coaſting along the Borders of great Rivers Northwards, which are ſaid to run about the length of *Indus* and *Ganges*, and all of them to riſe from one mighty Lake in the Mountains of *Tartary*. But from none of theſe Kingdoms is known any other way of Paſſage or Commerce into *China*, than by Sea.

From *Indoſtan* or the *Mogul's* Country, there is none other uſual; and ſuch as travel from thence by Land, are forced to go many Degrees Northward before they turn to the Eaſt, to paſs many Savage Kingdoms or Countries of the *Tartars*, to travel through vaſt ſandy Deſarts, and other prodigious high and ſteep Mountains, where no Carriage or Beaſt is able to paſs, but only Men on foot, and over one Mountain particularly, eſteemed the higheſt in the World, where the Air is ſo thin, that Men cannot travel over it without danger of their Lives, and never in Summer without being poiſoned by the Sent of certain Herbs that grow upon it, which is mortal when they are in Flower. After eight or nine Months Journey from the

Mogul's

Mogul's Court, ſeveral Perſons have travelled this Way, till they came to the Wall that defends or divides *China* from *Tartary*, and ſo to the Imperial City of *Peking*, ſituate in the Northern parts of this mighty Region, which the *Chineſe* call a World by it ſelf, and eſteem themſelves the only reaſonable and civilized People, having no Neighbours on three ſides, and to the North only the *Tartars*, whom they eſteem but another ſort of wild or bruitiſh Men; and therefore they ſay in common Proverb, that the *Chineſes* only ſee with two Eyes, and all other Men but with one.

By this Situation, and by a Cuſtom or Law very ancient among them, of ſuffering no Stranger to come into their Country, or if they do, not permitting Him to go out, or return any more to His own, this vaſt Continent continued very long and wholly unknown to the reſt of the World, and for as much as I can find, was firſt diſcovered to us by *Paulus Venetus*, who about four hundred years ago made a Voyage from *Veniice*, thro' *Armenia*, *Perſia*, and ſeveral parts of *Tartary*, to that which He names the Kingdom of *Cataya*, and to the famous City of *Cambalu*, (as he calls them) and after

after seventeen years residence of His Father and himself, in that Court of the great *Cham*, returned to *Venice*, and left the World a large Account of this Voyage.

Since His time, and within two or three hundred years several Missionary Friers and Jesuits have upon Devotion or Command of their Superiors, pierced with infinite pains and dangers thro' these vast and savage Regions, some from the *Mogul*'s Country, some thro' *Armenia* and *Persia*, and arrived at *Peking*, which I make no question, (by comparing all their several Accounts and Relations) is the same famous City that is called *Cambalu* by *Paulus Venetus*, seated in the Northern Provinces of *China*, which is by Him called *Cataya*. The reason of this difference in Names, was, that when *Paulus Venetus* was there, the *Cham* of East *Tartary*, called *Cataya*, had possessed Himself by Conquest, of several Northern Provinces of *China*, as well as that of *Peking*, where He made his Residence, and which was like the rest of his Empire, called *Cataya*, and the chief City *Cambalu*, by a *Tartar* Name. After some time all these Provinces were again recovered by the

Chineſes, from the *Tartars*, and returned to their old *Chineſe* Appellations; and the King of *China*, who then expelled the *Tartars*, fixed the Seat of His Empire at *Peking*, (which had been formerly at *Nanking* and at *Quinſay*) that the Force of His Armies lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that Frontier againſt the furious Invaſions of the *Tartars*, whereof they had ſeveral times felt the rage and danger.

After this recovery, *China* continued in Peace, and proſperous, under their own Emperours, till about the year 1616, when the *Tartars* again invaded them, and after a long and bloody War, of above thirty years, in the end made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the whole Kingdom, and ſo it has ever ſince continued.

This Region, commonly known by the name of *China*, extends about eighteen hundred Miles, or thirty Degrees of Northern and Southern Latitude. It is not eſteemed ſo much of Longitude, but this is more uncertain, the Journey thro' the whole Country from Eaſt to Weſt having not, that I find, been ever performed by any European, and the accounts taken only from report of the

the Natives. Nor is it eaſily agreed, where, the habitable parts of *China* determine Weſtward, ſince ſome Authors ſay, they end in Mountains, ſtored only with wild Beaſts and wild Men, that have neither Laws nor Language, nor other commerce with the *Chineſes*, than by deſcents ſometimes made upon them, for Rapines or for Rapes; And other Authors ſay, There are ſuch inacceſſible Mountains even in the midſt of *China*, ſo as the firſt accounts, may have left out great Countries beyond theſe Mountains, which they took for the utmoſt Border of this Kingdom.

Whatever length it has, which by none is eſteemed leſs, than twelve or thirteen hundred miles; It muſt be allowed, to be the greateſt, richeſt and moſt populous Kingdom, now known in the World, and will perhaps be found to owe its Riches, Force, Civility and Felicity, to the admirable conſtitution of it's Government more than any other.

This Empire conſiſts of fifteen ſeveral Kingdoms, which at leaſt have been ſo of old, tho now governed as Provinces, by their ſeveral Vice-roys, who yet live in Greatneſs, Splendor, and

Riches, equal to great and Sovereign Kings. In the whole Kingdom, are one hundred and forty five capital Cities, of mighty extent and magnificent Building, and one thousand three hundred twenty and one lesser Cities, but all walled round; The number of Villages is infinite, and no Country in the known World so full of Inhabitants, nor so improved by Agriculture, by infinite growth of numerous Commodities, by Canals of incredible length, conjunctions of Rivers, convenience of Ways, for the transportation of all sorts of Goods and Commodities from one Province to another, so as no Country has so great trade, tho till very lately, they never had any but among themselves, and what there is now foreign among them, is not driven by the *Chineses* going out of their Country to manage it, but only by their permission of the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*, to come and trade in some skirts of their Southern Provinces.

For Testimonies of their Greatness, I shall only add what is agreed of their famous Wall, and of their City *Peking*. The Stone-wall which divides the Northern parts of *China* from *Tartary*, is reckoned

reckoned by some, twelve, by others, nine hundred miles long, running over Rocks and Hills, through Marishes and Deserts, and making way for Rivers by mighty Arches: It is forty five foot high, and twenty foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain spaces by great Towers. It was built above two thousand years ago, but with such admirable Architecture, that where some Gaps have not been broken down by the *Tartars* upon their Irruptions, the rest is still as entire, as when it was first built. The King that raised this Wall, appointed a Million of Soldiers, who were listed and paid for the defence of it against the *Tartars*, which took their turns by certain numbers, at certain times, for the guard of this Frontier.

The Imperial City of *Peking* is nothing inferiour to several other Cities of *China*, (whereof *Nanking* is esteemed the greatest) but is a regular Four-square; the Wall of each side is six Miles in length. In each of these sides are three Gates, and on each side of each Gate are great Palaces or Forts for the Guards belonging to them, which are a thousand Men to each Gate. The Streets run quite cross, with a

through View and Paſſage from each Gate to that which is over againſt it in the oppoſite ſide, and theſe Streets are ranged full of ſtately Houſes.

The Palace of the Emperor is three Miles in Compaſs, conſiſting of three Courts, one within the other, whereof the laſt (where the Emperor lodges) is four hundred paces ſquare. The other two are filled with his Domeſticks, Officers and Guards, to the number of ſixteen thouſand Perſons. Without theſe Courts, are large and delicious Gardens, many artificial Rocks and Hills, Streams of Rivers drawn into ſeveral Canals faced with ſquare Stone, and the whole atchieved with ſuch admirable Invention, Coſt and Workmanſhip, that nothing ancient or modern ſeems to come near it; and all ſerved with ſuch Magnificence, Order and Splendour, that the Audience of a Foreign Ambaſſadour at *Peking*, ſeems a ſight as Great and Noble, as one of the Triumphs at *Rome*.

As other Nations are uſually diſtinguiſh'd into Noble and Plebeian, ſo that of *China* may be diſtinguiſh'd into Learned and Illiterate. The laſt makes up the Body or Maſs of the People who

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are govern'd; the first comprehends all the Magistrates that govern, and those who may in time or course succeed them in the Magistracy; for no other than the Learned are ever employed in the Government, nor any in the greatest Charges, that are not of those Ranks or Degrees of Learning, that make them termed Sages, or Philosophers, or Doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this Government of *China* is, and what the Persons employed in it, there will be a necessity of knowing what their Learning is, and how it makes them fit for Government, very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is observed to do, and the reason of such different effects from the same Cause.

The two great Heroes of the *Chinese* Nation were *Fohu* and *Confuchu*, whose Memories have always continued among them Sacred and Adored. *Fohu* lived about four thousand years ago, and was the first Founder of their Kingdom, the progress whereof has ever since continued upon their Records so clear, that they are esteemed by the Missionary Jesuits unquestionable and infallible. For after the Death of

every King, the Succeſſor appoints certain Perſons to write the Memorable Actions of his Predeceſſors Reign, and of theſe, an Epitome is afterwards drawn, and entred into their Regiſters. *Fohu* firſt reduced them from the common Original Lives of Mankind, introduced Agriculture, Wedlock, diſtinction of Sexes by different Habits, Laws and Orders of Government; He invented Characters, and left ſeveral ſhort Tables or Writings of Aſtronomy, or Obſervations of the Heavens, of Morality, of Phyſick, and Political Government. The Characters he uſed ſeem to have been partly ſtrait Lines of different Lengths, and diſtinguiſh'd by different points; and partly Hieroglyphicks, and theſe in time were followed by Characters; of which each expreſſed one word.

In theſe ſeveral ways, were for many Centuries, compoſed many Books, among the *Chineſes*, in many ſorts of Learning, eſpecially Natural and Moral Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, Aſtrology, Phyſick and Agriculture.

Something above two thouſand years ago, lived *Confuchu*, the moſt learned, wiſe and vertuous of all the *Chineſes*, and for whom

whom, both the King and Magistrates, in His own age, and all of them, in the Ages since, seem to have had the greatest Deference that has any where been rendred to any Mortal Man. He writ many Tracts, and in them digested all the Learning of the Ancients even from the first Writing or Tables of *Fohi*, at least, all that He thought necessary or useful to Mankind, in their personal, civil or political Capacities, which were then recieved and since prosecuted, with so great Esteem and Veneration, that none has questioned whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the truest and best Rules of Opinion and Life, so that 'tis enough in all Argument, That *Confuchu* has said it.

Some time after, lived a King, who to raise a new period of Time, from His own Name and Reign, endeavoured to abolish the Memory of all that had passed before Him, and caused all Books to be burnt, except those of Physick and Agriculture. Out of this ruin to Learning, escaped, either by chance, or some private Industry, the Epitomes or Registers of the several successions of their Kings since *Fohi*, and the works of *Confuchu*, or at least a part of them, which have lately in *France*, been

been printed in the Latin Tongue, with a learned Preface, by some of the Missionary Jesuits, under the Title of the Works of *Confutius*.

After the death of this Tyrannous and Ambitious King, These Writings came abroad, and being the only Remainders of the Ancient *Chinese* Learning, were received with general Applause, or rather Veneration; Four Learned Men having long addicted themselves to the Study of these Books, writ four several Tracts or Comments upon them; and one of the succeeding Kings made a Law, that no other Learning should be taught, studied or exercised but what was extracted out of these five Books; and so Learning has ever since continued in *China*, wholly confined to the Writings of these five Men, or rather to those of their Prince of Philosophers the great and renowned *Confutius*.

The sum of His Writings, seems to be a Body or Digestion of Ethicks, that is, of all Moral Vertues, either Personal, Oeconomical, Civil or Political, and framed for the Institution and Conduct of Mens Lives, their Families, and their Governments, but chiefly of the last;

laſt; the bent of his thoughts and reaſonings, running up and down this Scale, that no People can be happy but under Good Governments, and no Governments happy but over good Men; and that for the Felicity of Mankind, all Men in a Nation, from the Prince to the meaneſt Peaſant, ſhould endeavour to be good and wiſe and vertuous as far as His own Thoughts, the Precepts of others, or the Laws of His Country, can inſtruct him.

The chief Principles He ſeems to lay down for a Foundation, and builds upon, is, That every Man ought to ſtudy and endeavour the improving and perfecting of His own Natural Reaſon, to the greateſt height He is capable, ſo as He may never (or as ſeldom as can be) err and ſwerve from the Law of Nature, in the courſe and conduct of His Life: That this being not to be done, without much thought, enquiry and diligence, makes Study and Philoſophy neceſſary, which teaches Men what is good, and what is bad, either in its own Nature or for theirs, and conſequently what is to be done and what to be avoided, by every Man in His ſeveral Station or Capacity. That in this

this perfection of Natural Reason, consists the perfection of Body and Mind, and the utmost or supream Happiness of Mankind. That the means and rules to attain this perfection, are chiefly not to will or desire any thing but what is consonant to this Natural Reason, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the good and happiness of other men, as well as our own. To this end is prescribed, the constant course and practice of the several Vertues, known and agreed so generally in the World, among which, Courtesie or Civility, and Gratitude, are Cardinal with them. In short, the whole scope of all *Confucius* his writ, seems aimed only, at teaching Men to live well, and to govern well, how Parents, Masters and Magistrates should rule, and how Children, Servants and Subjects should obey.

All this, with the many particular Rules and Instructions, for either personal, oeconomical, or political Wisdom and Vertue is discoursed by Him, with great Compass of Knowledge, Excellence of Sense, Reach of Wit, and illustrated with Elegance of Stile, and Aptness of similitudes and examples, as may be easily conceived by any that

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can allow for the lameness and shortness of Translations out of Language and Manners of writing, infinitely differing from ours. So as the Man appears to have been of a very extraordinary Genius, of mighty Learning, admirable Vertue, excellent Nature, a true Patriot of his Country, and Lover of Mankind.

This is the Learning of the Chinese; and all other sorts are either disused or ignoble among them; all that which we call Scholastick or Polemick, is unknown or unpractised, and serves, I fear, among us, for little more, than to raise Doubts and Disputes, Heats and Feuds, Animosities and Factions, in all Controversies of Religion or Government. Even Astrology and Physick and Chymistry, are but ignoble Studies, tho there are many among them that excel in all these; and the Astrologers are much in vogue among the Vulgar, as well as their Predictions; The Chymists apply themselves chiefly, to the search of the universal Medicine, for health and length of Life, pretending to make Men Immortal, if they can find it out: The Physicians excel, in the knowledg of the pulse, and of all simple Medicines, and go little further; but in the first, are so

skilful

skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many hours or days a sick Man can last, but how many years, a Man in perfect seeming health may live, in case of no Accident or violence. And by Simples, they pretend to relieve all Diseases that Nature will allow to be cured. They never let blood, but say, if the Pot boils too fast, there is no need of lading out any of the water, but only of taking away the fire from under it, and so they allay all heats of the blood, by abstinence dyet and cooling herbs,

But all this Learning is ignoble and Mechanical among them, and the *Confusian* only essential and incorporate to their Government, into which none enters without having first passed thro the several Degrees. To attain it, is first necessary the knowledg of their Letters or Characters, and to this must be applied at least ten or twelve years study and diligence, and twenty for great perfection in it: For by all I can gather out of so many Authors, as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only so many Characters, expressing so many Words: these, are said by some, to be sixty, by others eighty, and by others sixscore thousand;

and

and upon the whole, their writing ſeems to me to be like that of Short-hand among us, in caſe, there were a different Character invented, for every word in our Language; Their Writing, is neither from the left hand to right like the *European*, nor from right to left like the *Aſiatick* Languages, but from top to bottom of the Paper in one ſtrait Line, and then beginning again at the top till the ſide be full.

The Learning of *China* therefore conſiſts firſt in the Knowledge of their Language, and next, in the Learning, Study and Practice of the Writings of *Confutius*, and his four great Diſciples; and as every Man grows more perfect in both theſe, ſo he is more eſteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read *Confutius*, unleſs it be diſcovered by retaining the principal parts of him in their memories, and the practice of him in their lives.

The Learned among them are promoted by three Degrees; The firſt may reſemble that of Sophiſters in our Colleges after two or three years ſtanding, and this Degree is conferred by publick Examiners appointed for that purpoſe, who go through the chief Cities of

of each Province once a year, and upon ſcrutiny, admit ſuch of the Candidates as they approve, to this Degree, Regiſter their Names, and give them a Badge belonging to this firſt form of the Learned.

The ſecond Degree is promoted with more form, and performed once in three years, in a great College built for that purpoſe in the chief City of each Kingdom; by ſeveral Examiners appointed by the King, and ſtrict enquiries and queſtions both of Language and Learning, and much Critick upon the ſeveral Writings, produced by the ſeveral Pretenders, and ſubmitted to the Examiners. This Degree, may reſemble that of Maſters of Arts in our Colleges, and is conferred with a new Badge belonging to it.

The third Degree may be compared to that of Doctors among us in any of our Sciences, and is never conferred, but in the Imperial City of *Peking* with great Forms and Solemnities, after much examining, and deliberation of the Perſons appointed for that purpoſe, and of this Degree there are never to be above three hundred at a time in the whole Empire, beſides ſuch as are actually

ally in the Magiſtracy or Government; Who are all choſen out of the Perſons that have commenced or attained this degree of Learning. Upon the taking each Degree, they repair to a Temple of *Confutius*, which is erected in each City, and adjoyns to the Colleges; and there they perform the Worſhip and Ceremonies appointed in honour of his Memory, as the great Prince or Hero of the Learned.

Of theſe Perſons all their Councils, and all their Magiſtracies are compoſed; out of theſe are choſen all their Chief Officers and Mandarines, both Civil and Military. With theſe the Emperors and Viceroys of Provinces, and Generals of Armies adviſe upon all great occaſions; and their Learning and Vertue make them eſteemed more able for the execution and diſcharge of all publick Employments, than the longeſt Practice and Experience in other Countries; and when they come into Armies, they are found braver and more generous in expoſing their Lives upon all great Occaſions, than the boldeſt Soldiers of their Troops.

Now for the Government, it is abſolute Monarchy, there being no other

Laws in *China* but the King's Orders and Commands; and it is likewiſe Hereditary, ſtill deſcending to the next of Blood.

But all Orders and Commands of the King proceed through his Counſels, and are made upon the Recommendation or Petition of the Council proper and appointed for that Affair; ſo that all matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the ſeveral Councils; and then upon their Advices or Requeſts made to the King, they are ratify'd and ſigned by him, and ſo paſs into Laws.

All great Offices of State are likewiſe conferred by the King, upon the ſame Recommendations or Petitions of his ſeveral Councils; ſo that none are preferred by the Humour of the Prince himſelf, nor by favour of any Miniſter, by Flattery or Corruption, but by force or appearance of Merit, of Learning, and of Vertue, which obſerved by the ſeveral Councils, gain their Recommendations or Petitions to the King.

The chief Officers are either thoſe of State reſiding conſtantly at Court, and by whom, the whole Empire is governed; Or the Provincial Officers, Viceroys, and Magiſtrates or Mandarines;

For

For the first, there are in the Imperial City at *Peking* six several Councils, or as some Authors affirm, one great Council, that divides it self into six smaller but distinct Branches. Some difference is also made by Writers, concerning the nature or the business of these Councils. But that which seems most generally agreed, is, That the first of these six is a Council of State, by whom all Officers through the whole Kingdom are chosen according to their Learning and Merit. The second is, the Council of Treasury, which has inspection into the whole Revenue, and the Receipts and Payments that are made in or out of it. The third takes care of the Temples, Offerings, Feasts and Ceremonies belonging to them, as likewise of Learning, and the Schools or Colleges designed for it. The fourth is the Council of War, which disposes of all Military Offices and Honours, and all matters of War and Peace, that is, by the King's Command issued upon their representations. The fifth takes care of all the Royal or Publick Buildings, and of their Fleets. And the sixth is a Council or Court of Justice or Judicature, in all Causes both Civil and Criminal.

Each of these Councils has a President and two Assistants or chief Secretaries, whereof one sits at his Right, and the other on his Left Hand, who digest and register the Debates and Orders of the Council. And besides these, there are in each Council Ten Counsellors.

By these Councils the whole Empire of *China* is govern'd through all the several Kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each Province particular Officers, Intendants and Notaries, from whom they receive constant Accounts, and to whom they send constant Instructions concerning all Passages or Affairs of moment in any of the several Provinces of the Kingdom.

There are, besides these six, several smaller Councils, as one for the Affairs of the King's Women, for his Houshold, and his Domestique Chancery or Justice. But above all, is the Council of the *Colaos*, or chief Ministers, who are seldom above five or six in number; but Persons of the most consummate Prudence and Experience, who after having passed, with great Applause, through the other Councils or Governments of Provinces, are at last advanced

to this ſupream Dignity, and ſerve as a Privy Council, or rather a *Junto*, ſitting with the Emperor Himſelf, which is allowed to none of the others. To theſe are preſented, all the Reſults or Requeſts of the other Councils, and being by their advice approved, they are, by the Emperor ſigned and ratified, and ſo diſpatched.

Theſe are always attended, by ſome of the chiefeſt and moſt renowned Philoſophers or Sages of the Kingdom, who attend the Emperor, and ſerve Him in receiving all Petitions, and give their opinions upon them to the Emperor or the *Colaos*, as alſo upon any matters of great moment and difficulty, when they are conſulted: And theſe are choſen out of two Aſſemblies reſiding at *Peking*, and conſiſting of ſixty Men each, but all choice Perſons, whoſe Wiſdom and Vertue, are generally known and applauded. They are imployed in all matters of Learning, and giving neceſſary Orders therein, keeping all the publick Writings and ordering and digeſting them, regiſtring all Laws and Orders of State, and out of theſe are appointed, by each ſucceeding King, ſome perſons to relate and

regiſter the Times and Actions of His Predeceſſor. They are, at their leiſure much given to Poetry, in which, they compile the Praiſes of Vertuous Men and Actions, Satyrs againſt Vice, Inſcriptions for Monuments and triumphal Arches, and ſuch like Compoſitions. And laſtly out of theſe (as they grow in Eſteem and Fame of Wiſdom and Vertue) are choſen and advanced by Degrees, the Officers of State, and Counſellors in the ſeveral Councils, and none ever arrives to be a *Colao*, that has not been of one of theſe two Aſſemblies.

Each particular Kingdom of the Empire, has the ſame Councils, or ſome very like them for the Government of that particular Province; but there is beſides in each, a Surintendant, ſent more immediately from Court, to inſpect the courſe of Affairs; A Cenſor of Juſtice and Manners, without whoſe approval, no capital Sentences are to be executed; And a third Officer, imployed by the Empreſs, in the nature of an Almoner, whoſe buſineſs is only that of Charity, and Relief of the Poor and diſtreſſed, and ſetting free Priſoners upon ſmall Debts or Offences; There

is

is beſides, in each Province, a particular Council, to take care of Learning, and to appoint Rules and Examiners for the ſeveral Degrees thereof.

It were endleſs to enumerate, all the excellent Orders of this State, which ſeem contrived by a reach of Senſe and Wiſdom, beyond what we meet with, in any other Government of the World; but by ſome few, the reſt may be judged.

Each Prince of the Royal Blood has a Revenue aſſigned Him, and a City where he is bound to reſide, and never to ſtir out of it, without the Emperor's leave. All Degrees of People are diſtinguiſht by their Habit, and the ſeveral Officers by ſeveral Badges upon them; And the Color worn by the Emperor, which is Yellow, is never uſed by any other perſon whatſoever. Every Houſe has a Board over the Door, wherein is written, the Number, Sex and Quality of the Perſons living in it; and to a certain number of Houſes, one is appointed to inſpect the reſt, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear Office in any Province, where He was born, unleſs it be Military, which is grounded, upon

on the belief, that in matters of Juſtice Men will be partial to their Friends, but in thoſe of War, Men will fight beſt for their own Country. None ever continues in any Office above three years, unleſs upon a new Election; and none put out for miſcarriage in His Office, is again admitted to any Imployment. The two great hinges of all Governments, Reward and Puniſhment, are no where turned with greater care, nor exerciſed with more Bounty and Severity. Their Juſtice is rigorous upon all Offences againſt the Law, but none more exemplary, than upon corruption in Judges. Beſides this, Inquiſition is made into their ignorance and weakneſs, and even into careleſneſs and raſhneſs in their Sentences; and as the firſt is puniſhed with Death, ſo theſe are, with Dimiſſion and Diſgrace. The Rewards of Honour (beſides thoſe of advancement) are conferred, by Patents from the Emperor, expreſſing Merits and granting Priviledges, by Pillars of Marble with elegant and honorary Inſcriptions: And to merit extraordinary towards the Prince and Country, even by erecting Temples, offering Incenſe, and appointing Prieſts,

for

for the ſervice of them. Agriculture is encouraged by ſo many ſpecial priviledges from the Crown, and the Common Laws or Cuſtoms of the Country, that whatever Wars happen, the Tillers of the Ground are untouched, as if they were ſacred, like Prieſts in other places, ſo as no Country in the World, was ever known to be ſo cultivated, as the whole Kingdom of *China*. Honor and Reſpect, is no where paid to Nobility or Riches ſo much, a it is here to Vertue and Learning, which are equally regarded, both by the Prince and the People: And the advancement to Office of perſons only for excelling in thoſe Qualities, prevents the Cankers of Envy and Faction, that corrupt and deſtroy ſo many other Governments. Every one ſeeking Preferment here, only by Merit attributes to it, that of other Men. Tho the King be the moſt abſolute in the World, ſince there are no other Laws in *China* but what he makes; yet all Matters, being firſt digeſted and repreſented by His Councils, the Humors and Paſſions of the Prince, enter not into the forms or conduct of the Government, but His perſonal favors to Men or Women, are

diſtributed

distributed in the Preferments of His Houſhold, or out of the vaſt Revenue that is particularly applyed to it, for ſupport of the greateſt Expence and Magnificence, that appears in any Palace of the World. So that it may truly be ſaid, that no King is better ſerved and obeyed, more honored or rather adored; and no People better govern'd, nor with greater Eaſe and Felicity.

Upon theſe Foundations and Inſtitutions, by ſuch Methods and Orders, the Kingdom of *China* ſeems to be framed and policed with the utmoſt Force and Reach of Human Wiſdom, Reaſon and Contrivance, and in Practice, to excel the very Speculations of other Men, and all thoſe imaginary Scheams of the *European* Wits, the Inſtitutions of *Xenophon*, the Republick of *Plato*, the *Utopias* or *Oceanas* of our Modern Writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that conſiders the Vaſtneſs, the Opulence, the Populouſneſs of this Region, with the Eaſe and Facility wherewith 'tis govern'd, and the length of time this Government has run. The laſt, is three times longer than that of the *Aſſyrian Monarchy*, which was thirteen

teen hundred years, and the longeſt Period of any Government, we meet with in Story. The Numbers of People and of their Forces, the Treaſures and Revenues of the Crown, as well as Wealth and Plenty of the Subjects, the Magnificence of their publick Buildings and Works, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring Teſtimonies of *Paulus Venetus*, *Martinius Kercherus*, with ſeveral other relations, in *Italian*, *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, either by Miſſionary Friers, or Perſons imploy'd thither upon Trade or Embaſſies upon that occaſion; Yet the whole Government is repreſented, as a thing managed with as much Facility, Order and Quiet, as a common Family, tho ſome Writers affirm the number of People in *China*, before the laſt *Tartar* Wars, to have been above two hundred Millions. Indeed the Canals cut thro the Country, or made by Conjunctions of Rivers, are ſo infinite, and of ſuch lengths, and ſo perpetually filled with Boats and Veſſels of all kinds, that one Writer believes, there are near as many People in theſe, and the Ships wherewith their Havens are filled, who live upon the Water, as thoſe upon the Land.

'Tis

'Tis true, that as Physicians say, the highest Degree of Health in a Body, subjects it to the greatest danger and violence of some Disease; so the perfection of this Government or Constitution, has had the same effect, joyned with the accident of their Situation, upon such a Neighbour as the *Tartars*. For these, by the hardness and poverty of their Country and their Lives, are the boldest and the fiercest People in the World, and the most enterprising. On t'other side, the Excellence of the *Chinese* Wit and Government, renders them, by great Ease, Plenty and Luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby exposes them to frequent Attempts and Invasions of their savage Neighbours. Three several times, upon their Records, the *Tartars* have conquered great parts of the Kingdom of *China*, and after long establishments there, have been expelled. Till (as we said before) about the year 1650. they atchieved the compleat and entire Conquest of the whole Empire after a bloody War of above thirty years. But the Force of this Constitution and Government, appears in no circumstance or light, so great as in this, that it has waded safe through so great

great Tempeſts and Inundations, as ſix changes of Race among their Kings by Civil Wars, and four Conqueſts by foreign and barbarous Forces. For under the preſent *Tartar* Kings, the Government continues ſtill the ſame, and in the Hands of the *Chineſe* learned; and all the change that appears to have been made, by ſuch a Storm or Revolution has been only, that a *Tartar* Race ſits in the Throne inſtead of a *Chineſe*; and the Cities and ſtrong Places are Garriſon'd by *Tartar* Soldiers, who fall by degrees into the Manners, Cuſtoms and Language of the *Chineſes*. So great a Reſpect, or rather Veneration, is paid to this wiſe and admirable Conſtitution, even by its Enemies and Invaders, that both Civil Uſurpers and Foreign Conquerors, vye with Emulation, who ſhall make greateſt Court, and give moſt ſupport to it, finding no other means to ſecure their own Safety and Eaſe, by the Obedience of the People, than the Eſtabliſhment and Preſervation of their Ancient Conſtitutions and Government.

The great Idea which may be conceived of the *Chineſe* Wiſdom and Knowledge, as well as their Wit, Ingenuity and Civility, by all we either read or

ſee

ſee of them, is apt to be leſſened by their groſs and ſottiſh Idolatry; but this it ſelf is only among the Vulgar or Illiterate, who Worſhip after their manner, whatever Idols belong to each City, or Village or Family, and the Temples and Prieſts belonging to them, are in uſual requeſt among the common People and the Women. But the Learned adore the Spirit of the World, which they hold to be Eternal, and this without Temples, Idols or Prieſts. And the Emperour only is allowed to ſacrifice at certain times, by himſelf or his Officers, at two Temples in the two Imperial Cities of *Peking* and *Nanking*, one dedicated to Heaven and t'other to the Earth.

This I mention, to ſhew how the furtheſt Eaſt and Weſt may be found to agree in Notions of Divinity, as well as in Excellence of Civil or Politick Conſtitutions, by paſſing at one leap from theſe of *China* to thoſe of *Peru*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

'TIS known enough, that about the year 1484. *Alonso Sanchez*, Master of a *Spanish* Vessel that usually traded from those Coasts to the *Canaries* and *Madera's*, was in his Passage between these Islands, surprised with a furious Storm at East, so violent, that he was forced to let his Ship drive before it without any Sail, and so black, that within twenty eight days he could not take the height of the Sun. That he was at length cast upon a Shore, but whether Island or Continent, he could not tell, but full of savage People. That after infinite Toyls, Dangers and Miseries of Hunger and Sickness, he made at length, one of the *Tercera* Islands, with only five Men left, of seventeen he carried out, and meeting there with the famous *Columbo*, made him such Relations and so pertinent Accounts of his Voyage, as gave occasion for the discovery of *America*, or the *West-Indies*, by

by this Man ſo renowned in our Modern Story.

Whatever Predictions have been ſince found out or applyed towards the Diſcovery of this New World, or Stories told of a certain Prince in *Wales*, having run the ſame Fortune, or of the ancient *Carthaginians*, I do not find, by all I have read upon this Subject, any reaſon to believe, that any Mortals, from *Europe* or *Africa*, had ever traced theſe unknown Paths of that Weſtern Ocean, or left the leaſt Footſteps of having diſcovered thoſe Countries, before *Alonſo Sanchez* and his Crew. Upon the arrival of the *Spaniards* there with *Columbus*, they found Nature as naked as the Inhabitants; in moſt parts no thought of buſineſs, further than the moſt natural Pleaſures or Neceſſities of Life; Nations divided by natural bounds of Rivers, Rocks or Mountains or difference of Language; Quarrels among them, only for Hunger or Luſt; the Command in Wars, given to the ſtrongeſt or the braveſt, and in Peace, taken up or exerciſed by the boldeſt among them; and their Lives commonly ſpent in the moſt innocent entertainments, of Hunting, Fiſhing, Feaſt-

Feasting, or in the most careless leisure.

There were among them many Principalities, that seemed to have grown up, from the Original of Paternal Dominion, and some Communities with Orders and Laws; but the two great Dominions, were those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, which had arrived to such Extent of Territory, Power and Riches, that amazed those, who had been enough acquainted with the Greatness and Splendour of the *European* Kingdoms. And I never met with any Story so entertaining, as the Relations of the several learned *Spanish* Jesuits and others, concerning these Countries and People, in their Native Innocence and Simplicity. *Mexico* was so vast an Empire, that it was well represented by the common Answer of the *Indians*, all along that Coast to the *Spaniards*, when they came to any part, and asked the People whether they were under *Montezuma*, *Quien noes esclavo de Montezuma?* Or, *Who is not a Slave of* Montezuma? as if they thought, the whole World was so. They might truly call it Slave, for no Dominion was ever so absolute, so tyrannous, and so cruel, as

His. Among other Tributes impoſed on the People, one was of Men, to be ſacrificed every year to an ugly deformed Idol, in the great Temple of *Mexico*. Such numbers as the King pleaſed of poor Victims, were laid upon ſuch Extents of Cities or Villages, or Numbers of Inhabitants, and there choſen by Lot, to ſatisfie ſuch bloody and inhuman Taxes. Theſe were often influenced by the Prieſts, who when they ſaw Men grow negligent, either in reſpect to themſelves, or Devotion to their Idols, would ſend to tell the King, that the Gods were hungry, and thereupon, the common Tribute was raiſed; ſo as that year, the *Spaniards* landed and invaded *Mexico*, there had been above thirty thouſand Men ſacrificed to this cruel Superſtition. And this was ſaid to have given great occaſion for the eaſie Conqueſts of the *Spaniards*, by the willing Revolts and Submiſſions of the Natives to any new Dominion.

The ſame was obſerved to happen in *Peru*, by the general hatred and averſion of the People in that Empire to *Atahualpa*, who being a Baſtard of the *Yncas* Family, had firſt by Practices and Sub-

Subtilty, and afterwards by Cruelty and Violence, raiſed himſelf to the Throne of *Peru*, and cut off with mercileſs Cruelty, all the Maſculine Race of the true Royal Blood, that were at Man's Eſtate or near it, after that Line had laſted pure and ſacred, and reigned with unſpeakable Felicity, both to themſelves and their Subjects, for above eight hundred years.

This Kingdom is ſaid to have extended near ſeven hundred Leagues in Length, from North to South, and about an hundred and twenty in Breadth; 'Tis bounded on the Weſt by the *Pacifick* Ocean; on the Eaſt by Mountains impaſſable for Men or Beaſts, and as ſome write, even Birds themſelves, the height being ſuch, as makes their Tops always covered with Snow, even in that warm Region. On the North 'tis bounded with a great River, and on the South with another, which ſeparates it from the Province of *Chili*, that reaches to the *Magellan* Straits.

The Kingdom of *Peru* deduced its Original from their great Heroes, *Mango Copac*, and his Wife and Siſter *Coya Mama*, who are ſaid to have firſt appeared in that Country, near a mighty

Lake, which is ſtill ſacred with them upon this occaſion.

Before this time, the People of theſe Countries are reported to have lived like the Beaſts among them, without any Traces of Orders, Laws or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Proviſion than for preſent Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houſes, but dwelt in Rocks or Caves, or Trees, to be ſecure from Wild-Beaſts, or in Tops of Hills, if they were in fear of fierce Nighbours. When *Mango Copac* and his Siſter, came firſt into theſe naked Lands, as they were perſons of excellent Shape and Beauty, ſo they were adorned with ſuch cloaths as continued afterwards the uſual habit of the *Inca*'s, by which Name they called themſelves. They told the People who came firſt about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the Sun, and that their Father, taking pity of the miſerable Conditions of Mankind, had ſent them down to reclaim them, from thoſe beſtial Lives, and to inſtruct them how to live happily and ſafely, by obſerving ſuch Laws, Cuſtoms and Orders, as their Father the Sun had com-

commanded theſe his children to teach them. The great rule they firſt taught was, That every man ſhould live according to Reaſon, and conſequently, neither ſay nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others ſhould ſay or do to them, becauſe it was againſt all common reaſon, to make one Law for our ſelves, and another for other people. And this was the great principle of all their Morality. In the next place, that they ſhould worſhip the Sun, who took care of the whole World, gave life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to maintain them; and was ſo careful and ſo good, as to ſpare no pains of his own, but to go round the World every day, to inſpect and provide for all that was upon it, and had ſent theſe his two Children down on purpoſe, for the good and happineſs of mankind, and to rule them with the ſame care and goodneſs that he did the World. After this, they taught them the Arts moſt neceſſary for Life, as *Mango Capac*, to ſow *Mayz* (or the common Indian Grain) at certain ſeaſons, to preſerve it againſt others, to build Houſes againſt inclemencies of Air, and danger of

Wild-beasts, to distinguish themselves by Wedlock into several Families, to cloath themselves, so as to cover at least the shame of Nakedness, to tame and nourish such Creatures, as might be of common use and sustenance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to Spin and Weave, both Cotton, and certain course Wools of some Beasts among them.

With these Instructions and Inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common utility, that they were followed by great numbers of People, observ'd and obey'd like Sons of the Sun, sent down from Heaven to instruct and to govern them. *Mango Capac* had in his Hand a rod of Gold about two Foot long, and five Inches round. He said, that his Father the Sun had given it him, and bid him when he travelled Northward from the Lake, he should every time he rested, strike this Wand down into the ground, and where at the first stroke it should go down to the very top, he should there build a Temple to the Sun, and fix the Seat of his Government.

This

This fell out to be in the Vale of *Cozco*, where he founded that City, which was head of this great Kingdom of *Peru*.

Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the high *Caſco*, and t'other the low, and began here to be a Law-giver to theſe People. In each of theſe were at firſt a Thouſand Families, which he cauſed all to be Regiſtred, with the numbers in each. This he did by Strings of ſeveral Colours and Knots of ſeveral Kinds and Colours upon them, by which, both accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expreſſed of their minds, as was neceſſary in a Government, where neither Letters nor Money, nor conſequently Diſputes or Avarice, with their conſequences, ever entred.

He inſtituted Decurions thro both theſe Colonies, that is, one over every Ten Families, another over Fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five Hundred, and a fifth over a Thouſand; and to this laſt, they gave the name of a Curaca or Governour. Every Decurion was a Cenſor, a Patron, and a Judge or Arbiter in ſmall Controverſies among

those under his charge. They took care that every one cloathed themselves, laboured, and lived according to the orders given them by the *Ynca's*, from their Father the Sun; among which one was, That none who could work, should be idle, more than to rest after labour; and that none who could not work, by Age, Sickness, or Invalidity, should want, but be maintain'd by the others pains. These were so much observed, that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and during the long race of the *Ynca* Kings, no Beggar was ever known, and no Woman ever so much as went to see a Neighbour, but with their Work in their hands, which they followed all the time the Visit lasted. Upon this, I remember a strain of refin'd Civility among them, which was, that when any Woman went to see another of equal or ordinary Birth, she worked at her own Work in the others House, but if she made a Visit to any of the Palla's, (which was the name by which they called all the Women of the true Royal Blood, as Ynca's was that of the Men) then they immediately desired the Palla to give them a piece of her own Work, and the Visit passed in working for her.

Idle-

Idleneſs, ſentenced by the Decurions, was puniſhed by ſo many Stripes in publick, and the diſgrace was more ſenſible than the pain. Every Colony had one ſupreme Judge, to whom the lower *Decurions* remitted great and difficult caſes, or to whom (in ſuch caſe) the Criminals appealed. But every *Decurion* that concealed any Crime of thoſe under his Charge above a day and a night, became guilty of it, and lyable to the ſame puniſhment. There were Laws or Orders likewiſe againſt Theft, Mutilations, Murthers, Disobedience to Officers, and Adulteries (for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the liberty of keeping other Women, as he could) The puniſhment of all Crimes, was either Corporal pains, or death, but commonly the laſt, upon theſe two reaſons which they gave; firſt, That all Crimes whether great or ſmall, were of the ſame nature, and deſerved the ſame puniſhment, if they were committed againſt the Divine Commands, which were ſent them down from the Sun: Next, that to puniſh any Man in his Poſſeſſions or Charges, and leave him alive and in ſtrength and liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incenſed,

or

or neceſſitated to commit new Crimes. On t'other ſide, they never forfeited the Charge or Poſſeſſions of a Son for his Fathers Offences, but the Judges only remonſtrated to him the guilt and puniſhment of them for his warning or example. Theſe Orders had ſo great force and effect, that many times a whole year paſſed without the execution of one Criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great order in the State, was the diſuſe of other poſſeſſions than what were neceſſary to Life, and the eminent Vertue of their firſt great Hero or Legiſlator, which ſeemed to have been entayled upon their whole Race in the courſe of their Reign: So as in the whole length of it 'tis reported among them, that no true *Ynca* was ever found guilty or puniſhed for any Crime. Thus particular qualities have been obſerved in old *Rome*, to be conſtant in the ſame Families for ſeveral hundred years, as Goodneſs, Clemency, Love of the People in that of the *Valerij*, Haughtineſs, Pride, Cruelty, and Hatred of the People in that of the *Appij*, which may come from the force of Blood, of Education, or Example.

ample. 'Tis certain, no Government was ever eſtabliſhed and continued by greater Examples of Vertue and Severity, nor any ever gave greater teſtimonies, than the *Ynca's*, of an excellent Inſtitution, by the progreſſes and ſucceſſes, both in the propagation and extent of Empire, in force and plenty, in greatneſs and magnificence of all publick works, as Temples, Palaces, High-ways, Bridges, and in all Proviſions neceſſary to common eaſe, ſafety, and utility of human Life; So as ſeveral of the Jeſuits, and particularly *Acoſta*, are either ſo juſt or ſo preſuming as to prefer the Civil Conſtitutions of *Mango-Copac* before thoſe of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other Law-givers ſo celebrated in the more known parts of the World.

To every Colony was aſſigned ſuch a compaſs of Land, whereof one part was appropriated to the Sun, a ſecond to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old or Maimed; A third to the peculiar maintenance of every Family, according to their number; and a fourth to the *Ynca*. In this order the whole was Tilled, and the Harveſt or Product, laid up in ſeveral Granaries; out of which

it

it was distributed by officers to that purpose, according to the several uses for which it was designed, and new Seed issued out at the Season for the new Tillage.

Every *Decurion*, besides the Office of a Censor and Judge, had that likewise of a Patron or Sollicitor, for relief of the Necessities or Wants of those under his Charge. They were bound to give in to the publick Registers, an Account of all that were Born, and of all that dyed under their Charge. None was suffered to leave the Colony or People he was born in, without leave, nor to change the Habit commonly used in it, (by some parts or marks whereof those of each Province were distinguished.) None to marry out of it, no more than the *Inca*'s out of their own Blood.

The *Inca* that reigned, was called *Capa Inca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Seignor*, or *only Lord*. He ever married the first of his Female Kindred, either Sister, Niece, or Cousin, to preserve the Line the purest they could. Once in two years he assembled all the unmarried *Inca*'s, Men above Twenty, and Women above Sixteen years old, and there in publick married all such as he

he thought fit, by giving each of their Hands one to the other. The ſame was done among the Vulgar, by the *Curaca* of each People.

Every Family at their time of Meals, eat with their Doors open, ſo that all might ſee their Temperance and Order.

By theſe, and other ſuch Laws and Inſtitutions, *Mango-Capac* firſt ſetled his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Cozco*, which were in time multiplyed into many others, by the willing confluence and recourſe of many ſeveral People round about him, allured by the Divine Authority of his Orders, by the ſweetneſs and Clemency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole Government of this Race of the *Ynca*'s, was rather like that of a tender Father over his Children, or a juſt, careful, and well-natur'd Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they came to be ſo honoured or adored, that it was like Sacriledge for any common perſon ſo much as to touch the *Ynca* without his leave; which was given as a Grace to thoſe who ſerved him well,

well, or to new Subjects that submitted to him.

After the extent of his Kingdom into great compasses of Territory round *Cozco*, by voluntary submission of the People, as to some Evangelical rather than Legal Doctrines or Institutions; *Mango-Copac* assembled all his Curaca's, and told them, that his Father the Sun had commanded him to extend his Institutions and Orders as far as he was able, for the good and happiness of Mankind; and for that purpose, with Armed Troops to go to those remoter parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their Observance. That the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would submit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happiness that was offered him by such Divine Bounty, but to distress only such as refused, without killing any that did not assayl them, and then to do it justly in their own defence.

For this design, he formed and assembled Troops of Men, Armed both with Offensive, and chiefly with Defensive Weapons. He cast them into the Order of *Decurions*, in the same manner as he had done Families; To every

every Ten Men was one Officer, another to Fifty, and another to One Hundred, a Fourth to Five Hundred, and a Fifth to a Thouſand. There was a Sixth over Five Thouſand, and a Seventh as a General, over Ten Thouſand; of which number his firſt Army was compoſed.

With this and other ſuch Armies, he reduced many new Territories under his Empire, declaring to every People he approached, the ſame things he had done firſt to thoſe who came about him near the great Lake, and offering them the benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he had inſtituted, the Protection he had given his Subjects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Thoſe who ſubmitted were received into the ſame Rights and Enjoyments with the reſt of his Subjects. Thoſe who refuſed were diſtreſſed, and purſued by his Forces till they were neceſſitated to accept of his Offers and Conditions. He uſed no Offenſive Weapons againſt any till they attacqued them, and then Defenſive only at firſt, till the danger and ſlaughter of his Men grew otherwiſe unavoidable; Then he ſuffered his Forces to fall upon them, and kill without

out Mercy, and not to ſpare even thoſe that yielded themſelves, after having ſo long and obſtinately reſiſted. Thoſe who ſubmitted after the firſt Threats or Diſtreſſes, or Bloodleſs Oppoſition, he received into Grace, ſuffered them to touch his Sacred Perſon, made great and common Feaſts for them and his own Soldiers together for ſeveral days, and then incorporated them into the Body of his Empire, and gave to each of them Cloathes to Wear, and Corn to Sow.

By theſe ways, and ſuch Heroick Vertues, and by the length of his Reign, he ſo far extended his Dominions, as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Ynca* to be a Viceroy (having many Sons grown fit to Command) and in each of them eſtabliſhed three Supream Councils, the firſt of Juſtice, the ſecond of War, and the third of the Revenue, of which an *Ynca* was likewiſe Preſident, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored Reign, *Mango-Copac* fell into the laſt Period of his Life; upon the approach whereof, he called together all his Children and Grand-children, with his eldeſt

eſt Son, to whom he left his Kingdom: And told them, that for his own part he was going to repoſe himſelf with his Father the Sun from whom he came; that he adviſed and charged them all, to go on in the paths of Reaſon and Virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the ſame Journey; that by this courſe only, they would prove themſelves to be true Sons of the Sun, and be as ſuch honoured and eſteemed. He gave the ſame Charge more eſpecially, and more earneſtly to the *Ynca* his Succeſſor, and commanded him to govern his People according to his Example, and the Precepts he had recieved from the Sun; and to do it always with Juſtice, Mercy, Piety, Clemency, and Care of the Poor; and when he the Prince ſhould go in time to reſt with his Father the Sun, that he ſhould give the ſame Inſtructions and Exhortations to his Succeſſor. And this Form was accordingly uſed in all the Succeſſions of the Race of the *Ynca's*, which laſted eight hundred years with the ſame Orders, and the greateſt Felicity that could be of any State.

I will ſay nothing of the greatneſs, magnificence and riches of their Buildings, Palaces, or Temples, eſpecially thoſe of the Sun; of the Splendour of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their Huntings and Feaſts, their Military Exerciſes and Honours. But as teſtimonies of their Grandeur, mention only two of their High-ways, whereof one was Five Hundred Leagues, plain and levelled through Mountains, Rocks and Valleys, ſo that a Carriage might drive through that whole length without difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or ſquared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each ſide, and ſet with Trees, whoſe Branches gave Shade, and the Fruits Food, to all that paſſed.

I ſhall end this Survey of their Government, with one Remarque upon their Religion, which is, that though the Vulgar worſhiped only the Sun, yet the *Amautas*, who were their Sages or Philoſophers, taught, that the Sun was only the great Miniſter of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored in the firſt place, and to whom a great and ſumptuous Temple was dedicated. This word is interpreted by the *Spaniard*, *Animador del*

del Mundo, or, *He that animates or enlivens the World*, and ſeems to be yet a more refined Notion of the Diety, than that of the *Chineſes*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this principle of their Religion, as all the others of their Government and Policy, it muſt, I think, be allowed, that Human Nature is the ſame in theſe remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the World. That the different Governments of it are framed and cultivated, by as great reaches and ſtrength of Reaſon and of Wiſdom, as any of ours, and ſome of their frames leſs ſubject to be ſhaken by the Paſſions, Factions, and other Corruptions, to which thoſe in the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Aſia*, have been ſo often and ſo much expoſed. That the ſame Cauſes produce every where the ſame Effects, and that the ſame Honours and Obedience, are in all places but Conſequences or Tributes paid to the ſame Heroick Vertue, or Tranſcendent Genius, in what parts ſoever, or under what Clymates of the World it fortunes to appear.

SECT. IV.

THE third Survey I propoſed to make in this Eſſay upon Heroick Vertue, was that of the Northern Region, which lies without the Bounds of the *Euxin* and the *Caſpian* Seas, the River *Oxus* to the Eaſt, and the *Danube* to the Weſt, which by the *Greeks* and *Romans* was called all by one general name of *Scythia*, and little known to any Princes or Subjects of the four great Monarchies, otherwiſe than by the defeats or diſgraces received in their Expeditions againſt theſe fierce Inhabitants of thoſe barren Countries: Such was the fatal overthrow of *Cyrus* and his Army by the Eaſtern *Scythians*, and the ſhameful flight of *Darius* from the Weſtern.

This vaſt Region which extends from the North-Eaſt Ocean, that bounds *Cataya* and *China* to the North-Weſt, that waſhes the Coaſts of *Norway*, *Jutland*, and ſome Northern parts of *Germany*, though compriſed by the Ancients under the

the common name of *Scythia* was distinguished into the *Asiatick* and the *European*, which were divided by the River *Tanais*, and the Mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous Nations may be called the Eastern *Scythians*, who lye on that side of the *Tanais*, or at least the *Volga*, and those the Western that lye on this. Among the first, the *Massagetæ* were the most known or talkt of by the ancient Writers; and among the last, the *Getæ* and the *Sarmatæ*. The first is now comprehended under the general name of great *Tartary*, and the second under those of the lesser *Tartary*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Sueden*, and *Denmark*; the two last styling themselves Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

How far this vast Territory is inhabited Northward by any Race of Mankind, I think none pretends to know, nor from how remote Corners of those Frozen Mountains, some of those fierce Nations first crept out, whose Force and Arms have been so known and felt, by all the rest of what was of Old called the Habitable World.

Whether it be that the course of Conquest has run generally from the North to the South, as from the harder upon

the ſofter, or from the poorer upon the richer Nations, becauſe Men commonly Attacque with greater fierceneſs and courage than they Defend, being in one ſpirited by deſire, and in the other uſually damped by Fear; I cannot tell, but certain it is, how celebrated ſoever the four great Monarchies have been, by the Writings of ſo many famous Authors, who have Eternized their Fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no part of the World that was ever ſubject to *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Greek*, or *Roman* Empires (except perhaps ſome little Iſlands) that has not been Ravaged and Conquered by ſome of thoſe Northern Nations, whom they reckoned and deſpiſed as Barbarous; Nor where new Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, or Governments, have not been by them erected upon the ruins of the Old, which may juſtly Mortifie the Pride of Mankind, the Depths of their Reaſonings, the Reach of their Politicks, the Wiſdom of their Laws, and Force of their Diſcipline, and may be allowed for a great and undiſputed Triumph of Nature over Art.

'Tis agreed in Story, that the *Scythians* conquered the *Medes*, during the pe-

period of that Race in the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and were Maſters of *Aſia* for fifteen years, till they returned home upon Domeſtick occaſions. That *Cyrus* was beaten and ſlain by their Fury and Revenge, under the leading of a Woman, whoſe Wit and Conduct made a great Figure in ancient Story; That the *Romans* were defeated by the *Parthians*, who were of the *Scythian* Race.

But the great Hero of the Eaſtern *Scythians* or *Tartars*, I eſteem to have been *Tamerlane*; and whether he was Son of a Shepherd or a King, to have been the greateſt Conqueror that was ever in the World, at leaſt that appears upon any preſent Records of Story. His Atchievements were great upon *China*, where he ſubdued many Provinces, and forced their King to ſuch Conditions of a Peace, as he was content to impoſe. He made War againſt the *Muſcovites* with the ſame ſucceſs, and partly by force, partly by conſent, gained a paſſage through their Territories for that vaſt Army, which he led againſt *Bajazet* (then the Terror of the World.) He conquered this proud Turk and his whole Empire, as far as the *Helleſpont*.

which he croſſed, and made a Viſit to the poor Greek Emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who had ſent to make Allyance with him upon his firſt Invaſion of *Bajazet*, at whoſe Mercy this Prince then almoſt lay, with the ſmall remainders of the *Grecian* Empire. Nothing was greater or more Heroical in this Victorious *Tamerlane*, than the Faith and Honour wherewith he obſerved this Allyance with the Greeks; For having been received at *Conſtantinople*, with all the Submiſſions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the Greatneſs and Structure of that Noble City, and ſaid, it was fit to make the Seat for the Empire of the World; and having the offer of it freely made him by the *Greeks* to poſſeſs it for his own, yet after many Honours exchanged between theſe two Princes, he left this City in the freedom, and the *Greek* Emperor in the Poſſeſſions he found them, went back into *Aſia*, and in his return Conquered *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *India*, where the great *Moguls* have ever ſince boaſted to be the Race of *Tamerlane*. After all theſe Conqueſts he went home, and paſſed the reſt of his Age in his own Native Kingdom, and dyed a fair and natu-

natural Death, which was a ſtrain of Felicity as well as Greatneſs, beyond any of the Conquerors of the Four renowned Monarchies of the World. He was without queſtion, a Great and Heroick Genius, of great Juſtice, exact Diſcipline, generous Bounty, and much Piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Chriſtian, Jew, nor Mahometan, and deſerved a nobler Character than could be allowed by modern Writers, to any perſon of a Nation ſo unlike themſelves.

The *Turks* were another Race of theſe Eaſtern *Scythians*, their Original Country being placed by ſome upon the North-Eaſt, by others upon the North-Weſt Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furniſh ſuch numbers as have over-run ſo great a part of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of them and their Conqueſts in the next Section.

That part of *Scythia* that lies between the two Rivers of the *Volga* and *Boriſthenes*, whereof the one runs into the *Caſpian*, and t'other into the *Euxine* Sea, was the Seat of the *Getæ*, whom *Herodotus* mentions, as then known by the

the name of *Getæ immortales*, because they believed that when they dyed, they should go to *Zamolxis*, and enjoy a new life in another World, at least such of them as lived according to his Orders and Institutions, who had been a great Prince or Law-giver among them. From this name of *Getæ* came that of *Gothæ*, and this part of *Scythia*, in its whole Northern extent, I take to have been the vast Hive out of which issued so many mighty Swarms of Barbarous Nations, who under the several names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Lombards*, *Huns*, *Bulgars*, *Francs*, *Saxons*, and many others, broke in at several times and places upon the several Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, like so many Tempests, tore in pieces the whole Fabrick of that Government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the Inhabitants, Language, Customs, Laws, the usual names of Places and of Men, and even the very Face of Nature where they came, and planted new Nations and Dominions in their room. Thus *Italy*, after many Spoils and Invasions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, came to be possessed by the *Lombards*, *Pannonia* by the *Huns*, *Thracia* by the *Bulgars*,

the

the Southern parts of *Spain* or *Andaluzia* by the *Vandals*, the East or *Catalonia*, by the *Catti* and *Alani*; the rest of that Continent by the *Goths*. *Gaul* was subdued by the *Francs*, and *Britain* by the *Saxons*; both which Nations are thought to have come anciently from the more Northern Regions, and seated themselves in those parts of *Germany*, that were afterwards called by their names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their later Conquests. The *Scutes* who Conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and possessed them under the Names of *Albin Scutes*, and *Irin Scutes*, I guess to have come from *Norway*, and to have retained more of the ancient *Scythians* (before the *Goths* came into those parts) both in their Language and Habit, as that of Mantles, and in the custom of removing from one part to another, according to the Seasons or conveniences of Pasture. The *Normans* that came into *France*, I take likewise to be a later Race from *Norway*, but after the *Gothick* Orders and Institutions had gained more Footing in that Province.

The Writers of those times content themseves to lay the Disgraces and Ruins of their Countries, upon the numbers

bers and fierceneſs of theſe Savage Nations that invaded them, or upon their own diſunions and diſorders, that made way for ſo eaſie Conqueſts: But I cannot believe, that the ſtrange ſucceſſes and Victorious Progreſſes of theſe Northern Conquerors, ſhould have been the effect only of Tumultuary Arms and Numbers, or that Governments erected by them, and which have laſted ſo long in *Europe*, ſhould have been framed by unreaſonable or unthinking Men. 'Tis more likely, that there was among them ſome force of Order, ſome reach of Conduct, as well as ſome Principle of Courage above the common Strain; that ſo ſtrange Adventures could not be atchieved, but but by ſome enchanted Knights.

That which firſt gave me this thought, was the reflection upon thoſe Verſes in *Lucan*.

——Populus quos deſpicit Arctos
Felices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animiq; capaces
Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Happy

Happy in their Miſtake thoſe People whom
The Northern Pole Aſpects, whom fear of
Death,
(The greateſt of all human fears) ne'r
moves;
From hence their Courage prove to ruſh on
Steel,
Their Minds deſpiſing Death, they think
it mean
To ſpare a Life that muſt again return.

By this paſſage it appears, that ſixteen hundred years ago thoſe Northern People were diſtinguiſh'd from all others, by a fearleſsneſs of Death, grounded upon the belief of another Life, which made them deſpiſe the care of preſerving this.

Whether ſuch an Opinion were firſt infuſed among them by *Zamolxis*, and propagated by *Odin* among his Followers, or by Him invented, I will not conjecture; it may have been either one or t'other, ſince the *Goths* Heled into the Northweſt parts of *Europe* are agreed to have come from the *Getæ*, who are placed near the River *Tanais*. For thoſe vaſt *Scythian* Regions were divided into infinite ſeveral Nations,

ſepa-

ſeparated by the common natural Bounds of Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Woods or Marſhes. Each of theſe Countries, was like a mighty Hive, which by the vigour of Propagation, and health of Clymat, growing too full of People, threw out ſome new Swarm at certain periods of time that took Wing, and ſought out ſome new abode, expelling or ſubduing the old Inhabitants, and ſeating themſelves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities of Life they met with; if not, going on till they found ſome other more agreeable to their preſent Humours or Diſpoſitions. Sometimes the expelled Nations took heart, and when they fled from one Country, invaded another, and revenged the Injuries of ſome cruel Neighbours, upon others that were weaker but more innocent, and ſo like Waves, thruſt on one the other, for mighty length of Space or Countries. Sometimes the Conquerors augmented their Numbers and Forces with the ſtrongeſt and moſt adventurous of thoſe Nations they firſt invaded, by their voluntary acceſſion into the ſhares or hopes of their future Fortunes, and ſo went on to further Conqueſts.

The

The uſual manner of theſe Expeditions, was, That when a Country grew too full of People for the growth of it to ſupply, they aſſembled together all that were fit to bear Arms, and divided themſelves into two Bands, whereof one ſtayed at home, to inhabit and defend their own, and t'other went to ſeek new Adventures, and poſſeſs ſome other they could gain by force of Arms, and this was done ſometimes by lot, and ſometimes by agreement between the two Diviſions. That Band or Colony that went abroad choſe their Leader, among thoſe in moſt repute and eſteem for Wiſdom or for Courage, and theſe were their Commanders or Generals in War; and if they lived and ſucceeded, were the firſt Princes of thoſe Countries they Conquer'd, and choſe for the Seat of their new Colony or Kingdom.

It ſeems agreed by the curious Enquirers into the Antiquities of the Runick Language and Learning, that

Excerpta ex Edda.

Hic Odinus Fatidicus erat, ut & ejus Conjux, unde nomen ſuum in Septentrione præ cunctis Regibus maxime celebratum ſibi prævidit. Hâc motus cauſâ ex Turcia iter molitus erat, adjuncto ſibi magno numero militum Juvenum & Seniorum utriuſq; ſexus. Quaſcunq; terras peragrarunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, Diis quam homi-

Odin

nibus similiores ab universis judicati, nec prius subsititerunt quàm terrâm ingressi essent quæ nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, istamq; Regionem late possedit, quam cum distribuisset inter Filios, ita ut Vagdeggo Orientalem Saxoniam, Begdego Westphaliam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit; Ipse in aliam migravit regionem, quæ tunc Reidgotolandia dicebatur, & quicquid ibi placuit sibi vindicavit. Huic terræ præfecit filium Skioldam ex quo Freidlesus genitus est cujus posteri Skioldungar sive Skioldiades nominantur, à qua stirpe Daniæ Reges descenderunt, ista Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.

Ex Snorrone.

Odinus Heros in Asgordia prope Tanaim, Saerorum Gentilium Summus antistes, duodecim Senatores qui cæteris pietate & sapientia præstarent Religioni curandæ & Juri dicundo præfecit. Hic magnanimus & fortis bellator innumera regna ditionesq; suam redegit in potestatem. Manus ducum suorum vertici imponens eos consecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncupabant. Othinus fratribus suis Regnum Asgardiæ commisit, ipse in Russiam profectus & inde in Saxoniam, eam sibi subjugavit, & filiis in regendum commisit. Inaudita generis miracula variis exercuit præstigiis. Magisterium publicum Magiæ præcipiendæ instituit: In varias formarum specie se transmu-

Odin or *Woden* or *Goden* (according to the different Northern Dialects) was the first and great Hero of the Western *Scythians*. That he led a mighty Swarm of the *Getes* under the name of *Goths*, from the *Asiatick Scythia* into the fartheſt Northweſt parts of *Europe*: That he ſeated & ſpred his Kingdom round the whole Baltick Sea, and over all the Iſlands in it, and extended it Weſtward to the Ocean, & Southward

tate noverat, tantâ eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram sermoni gratiam conciliabat: Tantâ ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut sæpe corpus suum velut spiritu suppresso humi prosterneret, & vigilans se longinquas oras peragrasse, & quid ibi rerum gereretur comperisse asseverabat. Ad summum Runis suis & incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum sibi nomen peperit ut sapientiæ & potentiæ suæ & Asianorum per omnes brevi nationes fit debitum, quò evenit ut Sueci aliiq; populi Boreales Odino Sacrificia dependerent. Post obitum multis apparuit, multis victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalde, id est, aulam Plutonis invitavit.

ward to the *Elve*, (which was anciently esteemed the Bound between the *Scythians* and the *Germans*.) That this vast Country was in the ancient *Gothick* term called *Biarmia*, and is by some Authors termed, *Officina Gentium*, having furnish'd all those Swarms of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Jutes*, *Danes*, *Normans* which so often infested, and at length subdued all the Western Provinces of *Europe*. Some write, that He extended his Conquests even as far as *Franconia* it self; but all agree, that this *Odin* was the first Inventor of, or at least the first Engraver of the Runick Letters or Characters, sometimes so famous, and at last so infamous in the World, by the vulgar Opinion and imputation of all sorts

of Charms, Enchantments or Witchcrafts to the use and force of those strange Characters. That he instituted many excellent Orders and Laws, made the distinction of Seasons, the divisions of time, was an invincible Warrior, a wise Law-giver, loved and obeyed during Life by his Subjects, and after his Death adored as one of their three chief Gods, amongst which he was the God of War, *Thor* of Thunder and Tempests, *Frea* of Pleasure, by whose Names, for an eternal Memory, three days of the Week are called.

I will not enter into His Story, nor that of His Succession, or the infinite and famous Revolutions it produced in the World, nor into the more curious search of the time of his Expedition, which must have been very ancient, and is thereby left doubted and undetermined: But if it be true, that He was Inventor of the Runick Characters, some Writers of that Language will make Him older than *Evander*, by affirming their Runick Letters to have been more antient than the Latin, which were first brought into *Italy* in His time. For my own part, I should guess, by all I have perused of those Antiquities, that this

Expe-

Expedition may have been made two thouſand years ago or thereabouts. So much is true, that the *Runes* were for long periods of time in uſe, upon materials more laſting than any others imployed to that purpoſe; for inſtead of Leaves or Barks, or Wax or Parchments, theſe were engraven upon Stone or Planks of Oaks, upon artificial Obelisks or Pillars, and even upon natural Rocks, in great numbers and extent of Lines. But more of this Runick Subject will occur upon that of Poetry; and I ſhall only obſerve, among the Conſtitutions of theſe Northern People, three Principles of a ſtrain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themſelves, and which extend very far into the Fortunes and Conqueſts of their Arms, and into the force and duration of their Kingdoms. The firſt of theſe is a Principle of Religion or Superſtition, the next of Learning, and the laſt of Policy or Civil Government.

Whether the firſt were deduced from that of *Zamolxis*, among the *Getes* ſtyled of old Immortals, or introduced by *Odin* among the Weſtern *Goths*, 'tis certain, that an Opinion was fixed and general among them, That Death was but

the entrance into another Life; that all men who lived lazy and unactive Lives and died natural Deaths, by Sickneſs or by Age, went into vaſt Caves under ground, all dark and miry, full of noyſom Creatures uſual in ſuch places, and there for ever grovelled in endleſs ſtench and miſery. On the contrary, all who gave themſelves to warlike Actions and Enterpriſes, to the Conqueſt of their Neighbours and Slaughter of Enemies, and died in Battle, or of violent Deaths upon bold Adventures or Reſolutions, they went immediately to the vaſt Hall or Palace of *Odin*, their God of War, who eternally kept open Houſe for all ſuch Gueſts, where they were entertained at infinite Tables, in perpetual Feaſts and Mirth, carowſing every Man in Bowls made of the Sculls of their Enemies they had ſlain, according to which numbers every one in theſe Manſions of Pleaſure was the moſt honoured and the beſt entertained.

How this Opinion was printed in the Minds of theſe fierce Mortals, and what effect it had upon their Thoughts and Paſſions, concerning Life and Death, as it is touched elegantly in thoſe Verſes of *Lucan* before recited, ſo it is lively repre-

repreſented in the twenty fifth and twenty ninth Stanza of that Song or Epicedium of *Regner Ladbrog*, one of their famous Kings, which He compoſed in the Runick Language, about eight hundred years ago, after He was mortally ſtung by a Serpent, and before the Venom ſeized upon His Vitals. The whole Sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deſerved from the Commonwealth of Learning) and is very well worth reading, by any that love Poetry; and to conſider the ſeveral ſtamps of that Coyn, according to ſeveral Ages and Climats. But that which is extraordinary in it, is, that ſuch an alacrity or pleaſure in dying, was never expreſſed in any other Writing, nor imagined among any other People. The two Stanzaes are thus tranſlated into Latin by *Olaus*.

Stanza XXV.

Pugnavimus enſibus,
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi Patris Scamna
Parata ſcio in aula,
Bibemus cereviſiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem

Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio deſperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

Stanza XXIX.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dyſæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi miſit
Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis
In ſumma ſede bibam
Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ,
Ridens Moriar.

I am deceived, if in this Sonnet, and a following Ode of *Scallogrim*, (which was likewiſe made by him after he was condemned to die, and deſerved his pardon for a Reward) there be not a vein truly Poetical, and in its kind Pindarick, taking it with the allowance of the different Climats, Faſhions, Opinions, and Languages of ſuch diſtant Countries.

I will not trouble my ſelf with more paſſages out of theſe Runick Poems, concerning this ſuperſtitious Principle, which is ſo perfectly repreſented in theſe, with the poſſeſſion it had taken of the nobleſt Souls among them; for ſuch this *Lodbrog* appears to have been, by his

his perpetual Wars and Victories in thoſe Northern Continents, and in *England Scotland* and *Ireland*. But I will add a Teſtimony of it, which was given me at *Nimeguen*, by Count *Oxenſtern* the firſt of the Swediſh Ambaſſadors in that Aſſembly. In diſcourſe upon this Subject, and confirmation of this Opinion having been general among the *Goths* of thoſe Countries; He told me, there was ſtill in *Sueden* a place which was a memorial of it, and was called *Odinshall*. That it was a great Bay in the Sea, encompaſſed on three ſides with ſteep and ragged Rocks; that in the time of the Gothick Paganiſm, men that were either ſick of Diſeaſes they eſteemed mortal or incurable, or elſe grown invalid with Age, and thereby paſt all military Action, and fearing to die meanly and baſely (as they eſteemed it) in their Beds, they uſually cauſed themſelves to be brought to the neareſt part of theſe Rocks, and from thence threw themſelves down into the Sea, hoping by the boldneſs of ſuch a violent Death, to renew the pretence of Admiſſion into the Hall of *Odin*, which they had loſt, by failing to die in Combat and by Arms.

What effect such a Principle (suck'd in with Instruction and Education, and well believed) must have upon the Passions and Actions of a People naturally strong and brave, is easie to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the strains of the boldest and firmest Philosophy; for this reached no farther than Constancy in Death, or Indifferency in the Opinion of that or of Life; but the other infused a scorn of Life, and a desire of Death; nay, fear and aversion even for a natural Death, with pursuit and longing for a violent one (contrary to the general Opinions of all other Nations) so as they took delight in War and Dangers, as others did in Hunting, or such active Sports, and fought as much for the hopes of Death as of Victory, and found as much pleasure in the supposed Advantages and Consequences of one, as in the real Enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new motions or designs, fearless and fierce in the execution of them, and never caring in Battle to preserve their Lives, longer than to increase the Slaughter of their Enemies, and thereby their own Renown here, and Felicity hereafter.

Their

Their decisions of Right and Just were by Arms, and mortal Combats allowed by Laws, approved by Princes, assisted by formal Judges, and determined by Death or Victory. From hence came all those Jousts, and Tiltings and Turnaments, so long in use, and so much celebrated in these parts of the World. Their Marriage-Feasts were solemnized by Launces and Swords, by Blows, by Wounds, and sometimes by Death, till that Custom was disgraced by the deplorable End of *Henry* the Second of *France*, and the fatal Launce of *Montgomery*. From hence came the long use of legal and of single Combats, when the right of Titles or Lands was difficult; or when a person accused of any Crime denied absolutely what his Accuser positively affirmed, and no other proof could on either side be produced. 'Tis known in Story how long and how frequent this was in use among all the Gothick Races, and in the several Kingdoms or Principalities erected by them, even after the Profession of Christianity among them. When it grew too infamous upon the entrance of Learning and Civility, and the Laws were ashamed of allowing Tryals of Blood and Violence,

yet

yet the Cuſtom could not be extinguiſh'd, but made way for that of private Duels, and for the Lye, being accounted a juſt ground of Fighting in point of Honour, becauſe it had been ſo in point of Law during the barbarous Ages. This ſeems to have begun upon the famous Challenge that paſſed between *Charles* the Fifth and *Francis* the Firſt, which though without effect, yet 'tis enough known and lamented how much of the braveſt Blood of Chriſtendom has been ſpilt by that example, eſpecially in *France* during the ſeveral ſucceeding Reigns, till it ſeems to have been extinguiſh'd by the juſt Severity, and to the juſt Honour of the preſent King.

But to return to the bold Authors of theſe Cuſtoms (unknown to the *Greek* and *Roman* Nations) Their Bodies indeed were hard and ſtrong, their Minds rough and fierce, their Numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their Clymat. But beſides theſe advantages, their Courage was undaunted, their Buſineſs was War, their Pleaſures were Dangers, their very Sports were Martial: Their Diſputes and Proceſſes were decided by Arms; they feared nothing but too long Life, decays of Age,

Age, and a natural or ſlothful Death; any Violent or Bloody they deſired and purſued, and all this from their Opinion of one being ſucceeded by Miſeries, the other by Felicities of a future and a longer Life.

For my part, when I conſider the force of this Principle, I wonder not at the effects of it, their numerous Conqueſts, nor immenſity of Countries they ſubdued, nor that ſuch ſtrange Adventures ſhould have been finiſhed by ſuch enchanted Men. But when Chriſtianity introduced among them, gave an end to theſe Deluſions, the reſtleſs humour of perpetual Wars and Action was likewiſe allayed, and they turned their thoughts to the eſtabliſhment of their ſeveral Kingdoms, in the Provinces they had ſubdued and choſen for their Seats, and applied themſelves to the Orders and Conſtitutions of their Civil or Political Governments.

Their Principle of Learning, was, That all they had among them was applied to the knowledge and diſtinction of Seaſons, by the courſe of the Stars, and to the prognoſticks of Weather, or elſe to the praiſes of Vertue, which conſiſted among them only, in Juſtice to their

their own Nation, and Valour againſt their Enemies; and the reſt was employed in diſplaying the brave and heroic Exploits of their Princes and Leaders, and the Proweſs and Conqueſts of their Nation: All their Writings were compoſed in Verſe, which were called *Runes* or *Viſes*, and from thence the term of Wiſe came: And theſe Poets or Writers being eſteemed the Sages among them, were as ſuch, always employed in the attendance upon their Princes, both in Courts and Camps, being uſed to adviſe in their Conduct, and to record their Actions, and celebrate their Praiſes and Triumphs. The traces of theſe Cuſtoms have been ſeen within the compaſs of this very Age, both in *Hungary* and *Ireland*, where, at their Feaſts it was uſual to have theſe kind of Poets entertain the Company with their rude Songs, or Panegyricks of their Anceſtors bold Exploits, among which, the number of Men that any of them had ſlain with their own hands, was the chief ingredient in their praiſes. By theſe, they rewarded the Proweſs of the old Men among them, and inflamed the Courage of the young, to equal the boldneſs and atchievments of thoſe that had

had travelled before them in these paths of Glory.

The Principle of Politick or Civil Government in these Northern Nations, seems derived from that which was Military among them. When a new Swarm was upon the Wing, they chose a Leader or General for the Expedition, and at the same time the chief Officers to command the several Divisions of their Troops; these were a Council of War to the General, with whom they advised, in the whole progress of their Enterprise, but upon great occasions, as a Pitcht Battle, any military exploit of great difficulty and danger, the choice of a Country to fix their Seat, or the Conditions of Peace that were proposed, they assembled their whole Troops, and consulted with all the Soldiers or People they commanded. This *Tacitus* observes, to have been in use among the *German* Princes in his time, to consult of smaller Affairs with the chief Officers, but *De Majoribus omnes.*

If a Leader of these Colonies succeeded in his attempts, and conquer'd a new Country, where by common consent they thought fit to reside, he grew a Prince of that Country while he lived,

lived and when he dyed, another was choſen to ſucceed him by a general Election. The Lands of the ſubdued Territory were divided into greater and ſmaller Shares, beſides that reſerved to the Prince and Government. The great, were given to the chief Officers of the Army, who had beſt deſerved, and were moſt eſteemed; the ſmaller, to the common or private Soldiers. The Natives conquered, were wholly diſpoyled of their Lands, and reckoned but as Slaves by the Conquerors, and ſo uſed for labour and ſervile Offices, and thoſe of the conquering Nation were the Freemen. The great Sharers, as chief Officers, continued to be the Council of the Prince in matters of State, as they had been before in matters of War. But in the great Affair and of common concernment, all that had the ſmaller Shares in Land, were aſſembled and adviſed with. The firſt great Shares were in proceſs of time called Baronies, and the Small, Fees.

I know very well how much Critick has been employed, by the moſt Learned, as *Eraſmus*, *Selden*, *Spelman*, as well as many others, about the two Words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much pains have

have been taken, to deduce them from the Latin, Greek, and even the Hebrew and Ægyptian Tongues; but I find no reaſon, after all they have ſaid, to make any doubt of their having been both Original of the Gothick or Northern Language; or of *Baron* having been a term of Dignity, of Command, or of Honour among them; and *Feudum*, of a Soldiers ſhare of Land. I find the firſt uſed above eight hundred years ago, in the Verſes mentioned of King *Lodbrog*, when one of his Exploits was, to have conquered eight Barons. And though *Fees* or *Feuda* were in uſe under later Roman Emperors, yet they were derived from the Gothick Cuſtoms, after ſo great numbers of thoſe Nations were introduced into the Roman Armies, and employed upon the Decline of that Empire, againſt other more barbarous Invaſions. For of all the Northern Nations, the *Goths* were eſteemed the moſt civil, orderly, and vertuous, and are for ſuch commended by St. *Auſtin* and *Salvian*, who makes their Conqueſts, to have been given them by the Juſtice of God, as a reward of their Vertue, and a puniſhment upon the Roman Provinces for the Viciouſneſs and Corruptions of their Lives

Lives and Governments. So as it is no wonder if many *Gothick* Words and Customs enter'd early into the *Roman* Empire.

As to the word *Baro*, it is not that I find, at all agreed among the learned, from whence to derive it, and the Objections raised against their several Conjectures, seem better grounded than the Arguments for any of them. But what that Term imported, is out of their several accounts easie to Collect, and confirmed by what still remains in all the Constitutions of the *Gothick* Governments. For though by Barons are now meant in *England*, such as are created by Patent, and thereby called to the House of Lords: And Baron in *Spanish* signifie only a Man of Note or Worth; and the Quality denoted by that Title be different in the several Countries of Christendom; yet there is no question, but they were originally such persons as upon the Conquest of a Country, were by the Conquering Prince invested in the possession of certain Tracts or Proportions of Free Lands, or at least such as they held by no other Tenure, but that of Military Service, or Attendance upon the Prince in his Wars, with a certain

tain number of armed Men. Theſe in *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, ſeem to have had, and ſome ſtill to retain, a Soveraign Power in their Territories, by the exerciſe of what is called high and low Juſtice, or the power of judging Criminal as well as Civil Cauſes, and inflicting Capital Puniſhments among thoſe that held under them, either as Vaſſals or in Fee. But I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in *England*, though the great Barons had not only great numbers of Knights, but even petty Barons holding under them.

I think the whole Realm of *England* was by *William* the Conquerour divided into Baronies, however the diſtinctions may have been long ſince worn out: But in *Ireland* they ſtill remain, and every County there is divided into ſo many Baronies, which ſeem to have been the Shares of the firſt Barons. And ſuch as theſe great Proprietors of Land, compoſed in all theſe North-Weſt Regions, one part in the States of the Country or Kingdom.

Now for the word *Barons*, though it be a preſumption to aſſert any thing after the Doubts or unreſolved Diſputes of ſuch learned Men: Yet I ſhall adventure

to give my own Opinion, how different ſoever from any that has been yet advanced. I find in *Guagnini*'s deſcription of *Sarmatia*, Printed in the year 1581. That in the ſeveral Dukedoms, Palatinates, or Principalities which then compoſed the mighty Empire of *Muſcovy*: Thoſe perſons who were the Chief in poſſeſſions of Lands, Offices, or Dignities among them next to the Prince, Duke, or Palatine, were by one common appellation called his *Boiarons*, as thoſe of the ſame ſort or quality in the preſent Court of the Great Duke's, are now termed his Boiars, which may be a corrupt or particular Dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any Man, that tries how eaſie a change is made in the Contraction of Boiarons into Barons, which is but of the two firſt Syllables into one, and that with an A long, as Barons is commonly uſed; And thoſe Countries above mentioned, having been the Seats of our Conquering *Goths*, I am apt to think their Boiarons grew with their Conqueſts, to be the Original Barons in all thoſe ſeveral Nations or Dominions where they were extended.

From

From the Diviſions, Forms and Inſtitutions already deduced, will naturally ariſe and plainly appear the Frame and Conſtitution of the Gothick Government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before, known or obſerved in Story, but ſo univerſal among theſe Northern Nation, that it was under the Names of King, or Prince or Duke and His Eſtates, eſtabliſhed in all parts of *Europe*, from the North-eaſt of *Poland* and *Hungary*, to the South-weſt of *Spain* and *Portugal*, though theſe vaſt Countries had been ſubdued by ſo many ſeveral Expeditions of theſe Northern People, at ſuch divers times, and under ſo different Appellations. And it ſeems to have been invented or inſtituted by the Sages of the *Goths*, as a Government of Freemen, which was the Spirit or Character of the North-weſt Nations, diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe of the South and the Eaſt, and gave the name to the *Francs* among them.

I need ſay nothing of this Conſtitution, which is ſo well known in our Iſland, and was anciently the ſame with ours in *France* and *Spain*, as well as *Germany* and *Sweden*, where it ſtill continues, conſiſting of a King or Prince,

who is Sovereign both in Peace and War, of an Assembly of Barons (as they were originally called) whom he uses as his Council, and another of the Commons, who are the Representative of all that are possessed of Free-Lands, whom the Prince assembles and consults with, upon the occasions or affairs, of the greatest and common concern to the Nation. I am apt to think that the possession of Land, was the Original Right of Election or Representative among the Commons, and that Cities and Boroughs were entituled to it, as they were possess'd of certain Tracts of Land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And so it is still in *Friezland*, the Seat from whence our Gothick or Saxon Ancestors came into these Islands. For the ancient Seat of the Gothick Kingdom, was of small or no Trade; nor *England* in their time: Their Humours and Lives were turned wholly to Arms, and long after the *Norman* Conquest, all the Trade of *England* was driven by *Jews*, *Lombards*, or *Milaners*, so as the right of Boroughs seems not to have arisen from regards of Trade, but of Land, and were places where so many Freemen inhabited together, and had such a Proportion of Land belonging to them. However it be, this Constitution has been celebrated, as framed with great Wisdom and Equity, and as the truest and justest Temper that has been ever found out between Dominion and Liberty; and it

seems

ſeems to be a ſtrain of what *Heraclitus* ſaid, was the only Skill or Knowledge of any value in the Politicks, which was the Secret of Governing All by All.

This ſeems to have been intended by theſe Gothick Conſtitutions, and by the Election and Repreſentation of All that poſſeſſed Lands; for ſince a Country is compoſed of the Land it contains, they eſteemed a Nation to be ſo, of ſuch as were the Poſſeſſors of it. And what Prince ſoever can hit of this great Secret, needs know no more, for his own Safety and Happineſs, or that of the People He governs. For no State or Government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private Factions, which is grounded upon the general conſent and ſatisfaction of the Subjects, unleſs it be wholly ſubdued by the force of Armies; and then the ſtanding Armies have the place of Subjects, and the Government depends upon the contented or diſcontented Humours of the Soldiers in general, which has more ſudden and fatal conſequences upon the Revolutions of State, than thoſe of Subjects in unarmed Governments. So the Roman, Ægyptian, and Turkiſh Empires, appear to have always turned

upon the Arbitrary Wills, and wild Humours of the Prætorian Bands, the Mamalukes, and the Janizaries. And ſo I paſs from the Scythian Conqueſts and Gothick Conſtitutions to thoſe of the *Arabians* or *Mahumetans* in the World.

SECT.

SECT. V.

THE laſt Survey I propoſed, of the Four outlying (or if the Learned ſo pleaſe to call them, Barbarous) Empires, was that of the *Arabians*, which was indeed of a very different nature from all the reſt, being built upon Foundations wholly Enthuſiaſtick, and thereby very unaccountable to common Reaſon, and in many points contrary even to Human Nature; yet few others have made greater Conqueſts or more ſudden Growths, than this *Arabian* or *Saracen* Empire; but having been of later Date, and the courſe of it engaged in perpetual Wars with the Chriſtian Princes, either of the Eaſt or Weſt, of the Greek or the Latin Churches, both the Original and Progreſs of it, have been eaſily obſerved, and are moſt vulgarly known, having been the Subject of many modern Writers, and ſeveral well digeſted Hiſtories or Relations; and therefore I

ſhall give but a very Summary Account of both.

About the year 600, or near it, lived *Mahomet*, a Man of mean Parentage and Condition, illiterate, but of great Spirit and ſubtil Wit, like thoſe of the Climat or Country where he was born or bred, which was that part of *Arabia* called the Happy, eſteemed the lovelieſt and ſweeteſt Region of the World, and like thoſe bleſſed Seats ſo finely painted by the Poet,

Quas neq; concutiunt venti, neq; nubila nimbis
Aſpergunt, neq; nix acri concreta pruinâ
Cana cadens violat, ſemperq; innubilus æther
Contegit, & latè diffuſo lumine ridet.

He was Servant to a rich Merchant of this Country, and after his Maſters Death, having married his Widow, came to be poſſeſſed of great Wealth, and of a numerous Family: Among others, he had entertained in it a Sergian Monk, or at leaſt called by that Name, whoſe vicious and libertine Diſpoſitions of Life, had made him leave his Incloſure and Profeſſion, but otherwiſe a Man of great Learning. *Mahomet* was

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ſubject to fits of an Epilepſie or Falling-Sickneſs, and either by the Cuſtoms of that Clymat, or the neceſſity of that Diſeaſe, very temperate and abſtaining from Wine, but in the reſt voluptuous and diſſolute. He was aſhamed of his Diſeaſe, and to diſguiſe it from his Wife and Family, pretended his Fits were Trances, into which he was caſt at certain times by God Almighty, and in them inſtructed in his Will, and his true Worſhip and Laws, by which he would be ſerved; and that He was commanded to publiſh them to the World, to teach them and ſee them obey'd.

About this Age all the Chriſtian Provinces of the Eaſt were over-run with *Arianiſm*, which however refined or diſguiſed by its learned Profeſſors and Advocates, either denyed or undermined the Divinity of Chriſt, and allowed only His Prophetical Office. The Countries of *Arabia* and *Ægypt*, were filled with great numbers of the ſcattered Jews, who upon the laſt Deſtruction of their Country in *Adrian*'s time, had fled into theſe Provinces to avoid the Ruin and even extinction, which was threatned their Nation by that Emperor, who after all the Deſolations he made

made in *Judea*, transported what he could of their remaining Numbers into *Spain*. The rest of *Arabia* and *Egypt*, was inhabited by Gentiles, who had little Sense left of their decayed and derided Idolatry, and had turned their Thoughts and Lives to Luxury and Pleasure, and to the desires and acquisition of Riches, in order to those ends. *Mahomet*, to humour and comply with these three sorts of Men, and by the assistance of the Monk his only Confident, framed a Scheam of Religion he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock the common Opinions and dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own Temper and Designs.

He professed one God Creator of the World, and who govern'd all things in it. That God had in ancient times sent *Moses* His first and great Prophet, to give His Laws to Mankind, but that they were neither received by the Gentiles, nor obeyed by the Jews themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent. That this was the occasion of the Misfortunes and Captivities that so often befel them. That in the later Ages he had sent Christ, who was the Second Prophet

Prophet, and greater that *Moſes*, to preach his Laws and Obſervation of them, in greater Purity, but to do it with Gentleneſs, Patience and Humility, which had found no better reception or ſucceſs among Men than *Moſes* had done. That for this Reaſon God had now ſent his laſt and greateſt Prophet, *Mahomet*, to publiſh his Laws and Commands with more Power, to ſubdue thoſe to them by force and Violence, who ſhould not willingly receive them, and for this end to eſtabliſh a Kingdom upon Earth that ſhould propagate this Divine Law and Worſhip, throughout the World: That as God had deſigned utter Ruin and Deſtruction to all that refuſed them, ſo to thoſe that profeſſed and obeyed them, He had given the Spoils and Poſſeſſions of His and their Enemies, as a Reward in this Life, and had provided a Paradiſe hereafter, with all ſenſual enjoyments, eſpecially of beautiful Women new created for that purpoſe; but with more tranſcendent Degrees of Pleaſure and Felicity to thoſe that ſhould die in the purſuit and propagation of them, thro' the reſt of the World, which ſhould in time ſubmit or be ſubdued under them. Theſe, with

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the ſevere Prohibition of drinking Wine, and the Principle of Predeſtination, were the firſt and chief Doctrins and Inſtitutions of *Mahomet*, and which were received with great Applauſe, and much Confluence of *Arians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles* in thoſe parts; ſome contributing to the riſe of his Kingdom by the Belief of his Divine Miſſion and Authority; many, by finding their chief Principles or Religious Opinions, contained or allowed in them; but moſt by their Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury, their Paſſions of Avarice, Ambition and Revenge being thereby complyed with. After his Fits or Trances, he writ the many ſeveral parts or Chapters of his *Alcoran*, as newly inſpired and dictated from Heaven, and left in them, that which to us, and in its Tranſlations, looks like a wild Fanatick Rhapſody of his Viſions or Dreams, or rather of his Fantaſtical Imaginations and Inventions, but has ever paſſed among all his Followers, as a Book Sacred and Divne; which ſhews the ſtrange difference of Conceptions among Men,

To be ſhort, this Contagion was ſo violent, that it ſpread from *Arabia* into *Ægypt* and *Syria*, and his Power increaſed

creaſed with ſuch a ſudden growth as well as his Doctrin, that he lived to ſee them overſpread both thoſe Countries, and a great part of *Perſia*; the Decline of the Old Roman Empire, making eaſie way for the powerful aſcent of this new Comet, that appeared with ſuch wonder and terror in the World, and with a flaming Sword made way where-ever it came, or laid all deſolate that oppoſed it.

Mahomet left two Branches of his Race or Succeſſion, which was in both eſteemed Divine among his *Muſſulmans* or Followers; the one was continued in the *Caliphs* of *Perſia*, and th'other of *Ægypt* and *Arabia*. Both theſe, under the common Appellation of *Saracens*, made mighty and wonderful Progreſs, the one to the Eaſt, and th'other to the Weſt.

The Roman Empire, or rather the remainders of it, ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, and afterwards called the Greek, was for ſome times paſt moſt cruelly infeſted, and in many parts ſhaken to pieces, by the Invaſions or Incurſions of many barbarous Northern Nations, and thereby diſabled from any vigorous oppoſition

position to this new and formidable Enemy. Besides, the Divisions among Christians made way for their Conquests, and the great increase of Proselytes to this new Religion. The *Arians* persecuted in the Eastern Provinces by some of the Greek Emperors (of the same Faith with the Western or Roman Church) made easie turns to the *Mahumetan* Doctrins, that professed Christ to have been so great and so Divine a Prophet, which was all in a manner that they themselves allowed Him. The cruel Persecutions of other Grecian Princes against those Christians, that would not admit the use of Images, made great Numbers of them go over to the *Saracens*, who abhorred that Worship as much as themselves. The Jews were allured by the profession of Unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Christian Faith, and by the great Honor that was paid by the *Saracens* to *Moses*, as a Prophet and a Lawgiver sent immediately from God into the World. The Pagans met with an Opinion of the old Gentilism, in that of Predestination, which was the Stoick Principle, and that whereinto unhappy Men commonly fell, and sought

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for refuge in the uncertain conditions or events of Life, under Tyrannical and Cruel Governments. So as some Roman Authors observe, that the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero* made more Stoicks in *Rome*, than the Precepts of *Zeno*, *Chrysippus*, and *Cleanthes*.

The great extent and power of the *Persian* Branch or Empire, continued long among the *Saracens*, but was over-run at length by the *Turks* first, and then by the *Tartars* under *Tamerlane*, whose Race continued there till the time of *Ishmael*, from whom the present Sophies are derived. This *Ishmael* was an Enthusiast, or at least a Pretender to new Revelations in the *Mahumetan* Religion. He professed to reform both their Doctrins and their Manners, and taught, That *Haly* alone of *Mahomet's* Followers, ought to be owned and believed as His true Successor, which made the *Persians* ever since esteem the *Turks* for Hereticks, as the *Turks* do them. He gained so many followers by his new and refined Principles, or professions of Devotion, that he made himself King of *Persia*, by the same way that the *Xeriffs* came to be Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez* about *Charles* the Fifth's time, and

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Crompel to be Protector of *England*, and *Oran Zeb* to be great Mogul in our Age, which were the four great Dominions of the Fanatick Strain.

The *Arabian* Branch of the *Saracen* Empire, after a long and mighty growth in *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, seems to have been at its height under the great *Almanzor*, who was the illustrious and renowned Heroe of this Race, and must be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in Learning, Vertue, Piety, and Native Goodness, as in Power, in Valour, and in Empire: Yet this was extended from *Arabia* through *Ægypt* and all the Northern Tracts of *Africa*, as far as the Western Ocean, and over all the considerable Provinces of *Spain*. For it was in his time, and by his Victorious Ensigns, that the Gothick Kingdom in *Spain* was conquered, and the Race of those famous Princes ended in *Rodrigo*. All that Country was reduced under the *Saracen* Empire, (except the Mountains of *Leon* and *Oviedo*) and were afterwards divided into several Mooriſh Kingdoms, whereof some lasted to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Nay, the *Saracen* Forces, after the Conquest of *Spain*, invaded the

the Southern parts of *France*, and proceeded with the ſame ſucceſs as far as *Tours*, till they were beaten and expelled by *Charles Martel*, who by thoſe exploits raiſed his Renown ſo high, as to give him the Ambition, of leaving the Kingdom of *France* to his own Line, in *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, by the depoſition and extinction of the firſt Race, which had laſted from *Pharamond*.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler Charcter of any Prince, than of this Great *Almanzor*, in ſome Spaniſh Authors or Tranſlators of his Story out of the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein the Learning then remaining in the World flouriſh'd moſt; and that of ancient *Greece*, as it had been tranſlated into their Language, ſo it ſeems to have been by the Acuteneſs and excellency of thoſe more Southern Wits, in ſome parts very much improved.

This Kingdom continued Great under the Caliphs of *Ægypt*, who degenerating from the Example and Vertues of *Almanzor*, came to be hated of their Subjects, and to ſecure themſelves from them, by a mighty Guard of *Circaſſian* Slaves. Theſe were bought young

from the Country now called *Mengrelia*, between the Euxin and Caſpian Seas, the ancient Seat of the *Amazons*, and which has, in paſt and preſent times, been obſerved to produce the braveſt Bodies of Men, and moſt beautiful of Women, in all the Eaſtern Regions. Theſe Slaves were called Mamalues when they came into *Aigypt*, and were brought up with care, and in all Exerciſes and Diſcipline, that might render them the moſt martial Troop or Bands of Soldiers that could any where be compoſed, and ſo they proved. The Commander of this mighty Band or Guard of Mamalucks, was called their Sultan, who was abſolute over them, as the General of an Army is in time of War. They ſerved for ſome time to ſupport the Government of the Caliphs, and enſlave the *Aigyptians*, till one of the Sultans finding his own Power, and the general diſeſteem wherein the Caliph was fallen, by the effeminate Softneſs or Luxury of his Life, depoſed him firſt, then ſlew him, and took upon Himſelf the Government of *Aigypt*, under the name of Sultan, and reigned by the ſole Force and Support of his Mamaluc Troops, which were continually increaſed

ſed by the Merchandiſe and Tranſportation of *Circaſſian* Slaves. This Government laſted, with great Terror in *Ægypt*, between two and three hundred Years, during which time the new Sultans were elected, upon the Death or Depoſing of the Old, by the choice of the Mamalucs, and always out of their own Bands. The Sons of the Deceaſed Sultans enjoyed the Eſtates and Riches left by their Fathers, but by the Conſtitutions of the Government no Son of a Sultan was ever either to ſucceed, or even to be elected Sultan: So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the World, to be born of a Prince, was a certain and unalterable Excluſion from the Kingdom; and none was ever to be choſen Sultan, that had not been actually ſold for a Slave, brought from *Circaſſia*, and trained up a private Soldier in the Mamaluc Bands. Yet of ſo baſe Metal were formed ſeveral Men, who made mighty Figures in their Age, and no Nation made ſo brave a reſiſtance againſt the growing Empire of the Turks, as theſe Mamalucs did under their Sultans, till they were conquered by *Selim*, after a long War, which looked in Story like the Combat

of ſome fierce Tyger with a Savage Boar, while the Country that is waſted by them are Lookers on, and little concerned, under whoſe Dominion and Cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed amongſt Authors, whether the Turks were firſt called into *Aſia* by the Greek or the Perſian Emperors; but 'tis by all, that falling down in great Numbers, they revolted from the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, ſet up for themſelves, embraced the Mahometan Religion, and improved the Principles of that Sect; by new Orders and Inventions, (caſt wholly for Conqueſt and extent of Empire) they framed a Kingdom, which under the *Ottoman* Race ſubdued both the Greek Empire, and that of the *Arabians*, and rooted it ſelf in all thoſe vaſt Dominions as it continues to this day, with the Addition of many other Provinces to their Kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahumetan Belief. So this Empire of the Turks, like a freſh Graft upon one Branch of a vigorous Stock, covered wholly that upon which it was grafted, and out-grew in time the other which was natural, as the Perſian Branch.

The chief Principles upon which this fierce

fierce Government was founded and raiſed to ſuch a height, were firſt thoſe of *Mahomet*, already deduced, which by their ſenſual Paradice and Predeſtination, were great incentives of Courage and of Enterprize, joyned to the Spoils of the Conquered, both in their Lands, their Goods and their Liberties, which were all ſeized at the pleaſure of the Conqueror.

A ſecond was, a Belief infuſed of Divine Deſignation of the Ottoman Line to reign among them for extent of their Territories, and propagation of their Faith. This made him eſteemed, at leaſt by Adoption, as a Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, and both a Sovereign Lawgiver in Civil (and with the aſſiſtance of his Mufti) a Supreame Judge in all Religious Matters. And this Principle was ſo far improved among theſe People, that they held Obedience to be given in all things to the Will of their Ottoman Prince as to the Will of God, by whom they thought him deſigned; and that they were bound not only to obey his Commands with any hazard of their Lives againſt Enemies, but even by laying down their own, when ever he commanded, and with the ſame reſig-

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nation that is by others thought due to the Decrees of Deſtiny, or the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God. This gives ſuch an abandoned Submiſſion to all the frequent and cruel Executions among them by the Emperors Command, tho' upon the meer turns of his own Humour, the Suggeſtions of the Miniſters, or the Flatteries and Revenges of thoſe Women he moſt truſteth, or loveth beſt.

A third was, the Diviſion of all Lands in conquered Countries, into Timariots, or Soldiers Shares, beſides what was reſerved and appropriated to the Emperor; and theſe Shares being only at pleaſure or for Life, leave him the ſole Lord of all Lands in his Dominion, which by the common ſuppoſition of Power following Land, muſt by conſequence leave him the moſt abſolute of any Soveraign in the World.

A fourth, the allowance of no Honors nor Charges, no more than Lands to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the Will of the Princes. This applies every man's Ambition and Avarice to court his preſent Humour, ſerve his preſent Deſigns, and obey his Commands, of how different Nature ſoever they

they are, and how frequently changed.

A fifth was, the Suppreſſion and in a manner extinction, of all Learning among the Subjects of their whole Empire, at leaſt the natural Turks and Janizaries, in whom the ſtrength of it conſiſts. This Ignorance makes way for the moſt blind Obedience, which is often ſhaken by Diſputes concerning Religion and Government, Liberty and Dominion, and other Arguments, of that or ſome ſuch nature.

A ſixth was, the Inſtitution of that famous Order of the Janizaries, than which a greater ſtrain of true and deep Politick, will hardly be obſerved in any Conſtitution. This conſiſted in the arbitrary choice of ſuch Chriſtian Children, throughout their Dominions, as were eſteemed Moſt fit for the Emperors peculiar Service; and the choice was made, by the ſhews or promiſes of the greateſt growth or ſtrength of Body, vigor of Conſtitution, and boldneſs of Courage. Theſe were taken into the Emperors Care, and trained up in certain Colledges or Chambers, as they are called, and by Officers for that purpoſe, who endeavoured to improve all they could the advantages of Nature, by thoſe of

Education and of Diſcipline. They were all diligently inſtructed in the Mahometan Religion, and in the Veneration of the Ottoman Race. Such of them as proved weak of Body, ſlothful, or Puſilanimous, were turned to labour in Gardens, Buildings, or Drudgeries of the Palace; but all that were fit for Military Service, were at a certain Age entred into the Body of *Janizaries*, who were the Emperors Guards.

By this means the number of Chriſtians was continually leſſened throughout the Empire, and weakned by the loſs of ſuch, as were like to prove the braveſt and ſtrongeſt of their Races. That of *Muſſulmans* was encreaſed in the ſame Proportions, and a mighty Body of Choſen Men kept up perpetually in Diſcipline and Pay, who eſteemed themſelves not only as Subjects or Slaves, but even Pupils and Domeſtick Servants of the Grand Seigniors Perſon and Family.

A ſeventh was, The great Temperance introduced into the general Cuſtoms of the Turks, but more particularly of the *Janizaries*, by the ſevere Defence and abſtinence of Wine; and by the Proviſion of one only ſort of Food

Food for their Armies, which was Rice. Of this Grain, as every Man is able to carry upon occasion enough for several days, so the quantity provided for every expedition is but according to the number, with no distinction for the quality of Men; so that upon a march, or in a Camp, a Colonel has no more allowed him than a private Soldier. Nor are any, but General Officers, encumbred with Train or Baggage, which gives them mighty advantages in their German Wars, among whom every Officer has a Family in proportion to his Command during the Campania, as well as in his Quarters; and the very Soldiers used to carry their Wives with them into the Field; whereas a Turkish Army consists only of fighting Men.

The last I shall mention, is the speediness as well as severity of their Justice both Civil and Military, which tho often, subject thereby to Mistakes, and deplored by the Complaints and Calamities of innocent persons, yet it is maintained upon this Principle fixt among them, *That 'tis better two innocent Men should die, than one guilty live.* And this indeed agrees with the whole Cast or Frame of their Empire, which

which ſeems to have been in all points the fierceſt, as that of the *Yuta*'s was the gentleſt, that of *China* the wiſeſt, and that of the *Goths* the braveſt in the World.

The growth and progreſs of this Turkiſh Empire, under the Ottoman Race, was ſo ſudden and ſo violent, the two or three firſt Centuries, that it raiſed fear and wonder throughout the World, but ſeems at a ſtand for theſe laſt hundred years, having made no Conqueſt, ſince that of *Hungary*, except the remainder of *Candia*, after a very long War ſo bravely maintained by the ſmall Venetian State, againſt ſo mighty Powers. The reaſon of this may be drawn, not only from the Periods of Empire, that like natural Bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain ſize, which they are not to exceed, but from ſome other cauſes, both within and without, which ſeem obvious enough.

The firſt, a neglect in the obſervance of ſome of theſe Orders, which were eſſential to the Conſtitutions of their Government. For after the Conqueſt of *Cyprus*, and the example of *Selim*'s Intemperance, in thoſe and other Wines,

that

that Custom and Humour prevailed against their Laws of Abstinence, in that point so severely enjoyned by *Mahomet*, and so long observed among all his Followers. And tho the Turks and Janizaries endeavoured to avoid the Scandal and Punishment by drinking in private, yet they felt the effects in their Bodies, and in their Humours, whereof the last needs no inflaming among such hot Tempers, and their Bodies are weakned by this Intemperance, joyned to their abandoned Luxury in point of Women.

Besides, the Institution of Janizaries has been much altered, by the Corruption of Officers, who have long suffered the Christians to buy off that Tribute of their Children, and the Turks to purchase the preferment of theirs into that Order for Mony; by which means the choice of this Militia is not made from the strongest and most warlike Bodies of Men, but from the Purses of the Parents or Friends.

These two Distempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous Humour of this Body of Janizaries, who finding their own Strength, began to make what Changes they pleased in the

the State, till having been long flush'd with the Blood of the Basha's and Visiers, they made bold at last with that of their Princes themselves, and having depos'd and strangled *Ibrahim*, they set up his Son, the present Emperor, then a Child. But the Distempers ended not there, they fell into new Factions, changed and murthered several Visiers, and divided into so powerful Parties, and with so fierce Contentions, that the Bassa of *Aleppo*, with an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men, set up for himself (tho under pretence of a counterfeit Son of *Murat*) and caused such a Convulsion of this mighty State, that the Ottoman Race had ended, if this bold Adventurer had not upon confidence in the Faith of a Treaty, been surprized and strangled by order of old *Cuperly*, then newly come to be Grand Visier, and absolute in the Government. This Man entring the Ministry, at fourscore years old, cruel by nature, and hardned by Age, to allay the heat of Blood in that distemper'd Body of the Janizaries, and the other Troops, cut off near Forty Thousand of them in three years time, by private, suddain, and violent Executions, without form of Laws or Trials,

Trials, or hearing any ſorts of Pleas or Defences. His Son, ſucceeding in the place of Grand Viſier, found the Empire ſo diſpirited, by his Fathers Cruelties, and the Militia remaining ſo ſpited and diſtemper'd, breathing new Commotions and Revenges, that he diverted the Humour by an eaſie War upon the *Venetians*, *Tranſilvanians*, or the remainders of *Hungary*, till by Temper and Conduct he had cloſed the Wounds which his Father had left bleeding, and reſtored the Strength of the Ottoman Empire to that Degree, that the ſucceeding Viſier invaded *Germany*, though againſt the Faith of Treaties, or of a Truce not expired, and at laſt beſieged *Vienna*, which is a Story too freſh and too known to be told here.

Another reaſon has been, the neglect of their Marine Affairs, or of their former Greatneſs at Sea; ſo as for many years they hardly pretend to any ſucceſſes on that Element; but commonly ſay, *That God has given the Earth to the* Muſſulmans, *and the Sea to the* Chriſtians,

The laſt I ſhall obſerve, is the exceſſive uſe of Opium, with which they ſeek to repair the want of Wine, and to divert

divert their Melancholy reflections, upon the ill Condition of their Fortunes and Lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the Will or Caprice of the Grand Seignior, or of the Grand Viſiers Humor and Commands; but the effect of this Opium is very tranſitory; and tho' it allays for the preſent all Melancholy Fumes and Thoughts, yet when the Operation is paſt, they return again, which makes the uſe of it ſo often repeated; and nothing more diſpirits and enervates both the Body and the Mind of thoſe that frequently uſe it.

The external Reaſon of the Stand made this laſt Century, in the growth of the Turkiſh Empire, ſeems to have been, their having before extended it, till they came to ſuch ſtrong Bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the Perſian Empire to the Eaſt, upon the *Tartars* to the North, upon the *Æthiopians* to the South, and upon the German Empire to the Weſt, and turned their proſpect this way, as the eaſieſt and moſt plauſible, being againſt a Chriſtian ſtate.

Now this Empire of *Germany*, conſiſting of ſuch large Territories, ſuch Numbers and Bodies of Warlike Men,

when

when united in any common Cauſe or Quarrel, ſeems as ſtrongly conſtituted for Defence, as the Turkiſh is for Invaſion or Conqueſt. For being compoſed of many Civil and Moderate Governments, under Legal Princes or Free States, the Subjects are all fond of their Liberties and Laws, and abhor the falling under any foreign or Arbitrary Dominions, and in ſuch a common Cauſe ſeem to be invincible. On the contrary, the Turkiſh Territories being all enſlaved, and thereby in a manner deſolated, have no Force but that of their ſtanding Armies, and their People in general care not either for the progreſs of their Victories abroad, nor even for the Defence of their own Countries, ſince they are ſure to loſe nothing, but may hope reaſonably to gain by any change of Maſter, or of Government, which makes that Empire the worſe conſtituted that can be for Defence, upon any great Misfortune to their Armies.

The Effect of theſe two different Conſtitutions had been ſeen and felt (in all probability) to the wonder of the whole World, in theſe late Revolutions, if the Divine Decrees had not croſſed

croſſed all Human Appearances. For the Grand Viſier might certainly have taken *Vienna*, before the Confederate Princes could have united for its Relief, if the Opinion of vaſt Treaſures (there aſſembled for ſhelter from all the adjacent parts) had not given him a paſſionate deſire to take the Town by Compoſition rather than by Storm; which muſt have left all its Wealth a Prey to the Soldiers, and not to the General.

If the Turks had poſſeſſed this Bulwark of Chriſtendom, I do not conceive what could have hindred them from being Maſters immediately of *Anſtria*, and all its depending Provinces; nor in another year of all *Italy*, or of the Southern Provinces of *Germany*, as they ſhould have choſen to carry on their Invaſion, or of both, in two or three years time; and how fatal this might have been to the reſt of Chriſtendom, or how it might have enlarged the Turkiſh Dominions, is eaſie to conjecture.

On th' other ſide, after the Defeat of the Grand Viſiers Army, his Death, and that of ſo many brave Baſha's, and other Captains, by the

uſual

uſual Humour and Faction of that bloody Court: After ſuch Slaughters of the Janizaries, in ſo many Encounters, and ſuch an univerſal Diſcouragement of their Troops, that could no where withſtand the German Arms and Bravery; if upon the taking of *Belgrade*, the Emperor had been at the Head of the Forces then in his Service, united under one great Commander, and without dependance upon the ſeveral Princes by whom they were raiſed, I do not ſee what could have hindred them from conquering all before them, in that open Country of *Bulgaria* and *Romania*, nor from taking *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, upon the courſe of an eaſie War, in ſuch a Decline of the Turkiſh Empire, with ſo weak and diſpirited Troops as thoſe that remained, a Treaſure ſo exhauſted, a Court ſo divided, and ſuch a general Conſternation as appear'd in that great and tumultuous City, upon theſe occaſions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any ſo great Revolution, either for the Ruin or Advantage of Chriſtendom, and ſeems to have left both Empires at a Bay, and not likely to make any great Enterpriſes on either ſide; but rather

to fall into the Designs of a Peace, which may probably leave *Hungary* to the Possession as well as Right of the House of *Austria*, and the Turks in a condition of giving no great Fears or Dangers, in our Age, to the rest of Christendom.

Although the Mahumetan Empires were not raised like others, upon the Foundations, or by the force of Heroic Vertue, but rather by the Practices of a subtile Man, upon the simplicity of credulous People; yet the growth of them has been influenced by several Princes, in whom some Beams at least of that Sun have shined, such as *Almanzor*, *Saladine*, *Ottoman*, and *Soliman the Great*. And because I have named the most Heroick Persons of that Sect, it will be but Justice to Nobler Nations, to mention at the same time, those who appear to have shined the brightest in their several Ages or Countries, and the Lustre of whose Vertues, as well as Greatness, has been sullied with the fewest noted Blemishes or Defaults, and who for deserving well of their own Countries by their Actions, and of Mankind by their Examples, have eternized their Memories in the true

true Records of Fame, which is ever just to the Dead, how partial soever it may be to the living, from the forced Applauses of Power, or fulsom Adulations of servile Men.

Such as these were among the ancient Grecians, *Epaminondas*, *Pericles*, and *Agesilaus*. Of the Old Roman State, the first *Scipio*, *Marcellus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*. Of the Roman Emperors, *Augustus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Among the Goths, *Alaric* and *Theoderic*. Of the Western Emperors, *Charlemain*, *Frederick Barbarossa*, and *Charles the Fifth*. Of the French Nation, *Pharamound*, *Charles Martel*, and *Henry* the Fourth, who began three of their Noblest Races. Of the *Swedes*, *Gustavus Adolphus*. And of our own, *Richard* the First; the *Black Prince*, and *Harry* the Fifth. To these I may add seven Famous Captains, or smaller Princes, whose Exploits and Vertues may justly allow them to be ranked with so great Kings and Emperors. *Ætius* and *Belisarius*, the two last Great Commanders of the Roman Armies, after the Division and Decay of that Mighty State, who set up the last Trophies, and made the bravest Defences against

the Numbers and Fury of thoſe Barbarous Nations, that invaded, and after their time tore in pieces that whole Empire. *George Caſtriot*, commonly call'd *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epire*, and *Huniades* Viceroy of *Hungaria*, who were two moſt victorious Captains, and excellent Men, the true Champions of Chriſtendom whilſt they lived, and Terror of the Turks; who with ſmall Forces held at a Bay, for ſo many years, all the Powers of the Ottoman Empire. *Ferdinand Gonzalvo*, that Noble Spaniard, worthily Surnamed the Great Captain, who by his ſole Proweſs and Conduct, conquered a Crown for his Maſter, which he might have worn for himſelf, if his Ambition had been equal to his Courage and Vertues. *William* Prince of *Orange*, who reſtored the Belgick Liberties, and was the Founder of their State, eſteemed generally the beſt and wiſeſt Commander of his Age, and who at the ſudden point of his Death, as well as in the courſe of his Life, gave ſuch Teſtimonies of his being a true Lover of the People and Country he Govern'd. *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma*, who by his Wiſdom, Courage and Juſtice, recovered

Ten

Ten of the Seventeen Provinces, that were in a manner loſt to the Crown of *Spain*; made two famous Expeditions for relief of his Confederates into the Heart of *France*, and ſeemed to revive the ancient Roman Vertue and Diſcipline in the World, and to bring the noble Genius of *Italy* to appear once more upon the Stage.

Who-ever has a mind to trace the Paths of Heroick Vertue, which lead to the Temple of True Honour and Fame, need ſeek them no further, than in the Stories and Examples of thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons here aſſembled. And ſo I leave this Crown of never-fading Lawrel, in full view of ſuch great and noble Spirits, as ſhall deſerve it, in this or in ſucceeding Ages. Let them win it and wear it.

SECT. VI.

UPON the Survey of all the Great Actions and Revolutions, occaſioned in the World by the Conqueſts and Progreſſes of theſe four mighty Empires, as well as the other four, ſo much renowned in Story: It may not be impertinent, to reflect upon the cauſes of Conqueſt as well as the effects, and deduce them from their natural Sources, as far as they can be diſcovered, though like thoſe of great Rivers, they are uſually obſcure or taken little notice of, untill their Streams increaſing by the influence of many others, make ſo mighty Inundations, as to grow famous in the Stories, as well as Maps of the World.

To this end I ſhall obſerve three things upon the general courſe of Conqueſts, the moſt renowned and beſt recorded, in what remains of antient as well as modern Hiſtories.

First

First, that they have generally proceeded from North to South, ſo as we find none beſides thoſe of the *Saracens* that can be ſaid to have ſailed the contrary Courſe, and thoſe were animated by another Spirit, which was the *Mahumetan* Perſwaſion of Predeſtination, that made them careleſs of their Lives, and thereby fearleſs of Dangers. For all the reſt, they have run the Courſe beforementioned, unleſs we ſhould admit the Traditions, rather than Relations of the Conqueſts of *Seſoſtris*, who is reported by the Antients to have ſubdued all, from *Ægypt* to the River *Tanais*: But this we may not allow for truth, becauſe it muſt have preceeded the Reign of *Ninus*, and ſo diſagree with the Chronology of Holy Scripture: And therefore it muſt be exploded for fabulous, with other Reliques of antient Story, as the *Scythians* having ſubdued and poſſeſſed *Aſia* ſo many hundred years before the Empire of *Ninus*, and their Wives having given ſo antient a beginning to the famous Kingdom of the *Amazons*, whereof ſome Remnants only, are ſaid to have remained in *Alexander*'s time: Yet the fame was then believ'd, of their having antiently extended their Dominion over

all the leſſer *Aſia*, as well as *Armenia*, and of their having founded the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, which is the more probable, from that appellation of *Taurica*, that was antiently given her.

But the great Conqueſts, recorded and undiſputed in Story, have been of the *Aſſyrians* Southwards, as far as *Arabia* and *India*. Of the *Perſians*, from the *Caſpian* Sea, to the utmoſt extent of the preceeding Empire and of *Ægypt*. Of the *Macedonians* over *Greece* and all the Bounds of the *Perſian* Kingdom. Of the *Romans* over the Greek Empire as far as *Parthia* Eaſtward, and over *Sicily Spain* and *Africk* to the South, before the progreſs of their Arms towards the Northweſt. Of the *Tartars* over all *China* and *India*. And of the *Goths* and other Northern Nations over all the more Southern Provinces of *Europe*.

The ſecond obſervation I ſhall make upon the ſubject of Victory and Conqueſt is, that they have generally been made by the ſmaller numbers over the greater, againſt which I do not remember any exception in all the famous Battels regiſtred in Story, excepting that of *Tamerlain* and *Bajazet*, whereof the firſt

is ſaid to have exceeded about a fourth part in number, though they were ſo vaſt on both ſides, that they were not very eaſy to be well accounted. For the reſt, the number of the *Perſians* with *Cyrus* were ſmall to thoſe of the *Aſſyrians*: Thoſe of the *Macedonians* were in no battel againſt the *Perſians*, above forty thouſand men, though ſometimes againſt three, four, or ſix hundred thouſand. The *Athenian* Army little exceeded ten thouſand, and fighting for the Liberties of their Country, beat above ſix-ſcore thouſand *Perſians* at *Marathon*. The *Lacedemonians*, in all the famous Exploits of that State, never had above twelve thouſand *Spartans* in the Field at a time, and ſeldom above twenty thouſand Men with their Allies. * The *Romans* ever fought with ſmaller againſt greater numbers, unleſs in the Battels of *Canna* and *Thraſimene*, which were the only famous ones they loſt againſt foreign Enemies; and *Cæſar*'s Armies at *Pharſalia*, as well as in *Gaul* and *Germany*, were in no proportion to thoſe he conquer'd. That of *Marius* was not above forty thouſand againſt

* And yet they are recorded never to have asked how many their Enemies were, but only where they were.

against three hundred thousand *Cimbers*. The famous Victories of *Ætius* and *Belisarius* against the barbarous Northern Nations, were with mighty disproportion of numbers, as likewise the first Victories of the *Turks* upon the *Persian* Kingdom; of the *Tartars* upon the *Chinese*: And *Scanderbeg*, never saw together, above sixteen thousand men, in all the renowned Victories he atchieved against the *Turks*, though in numbers sometimes above an hundred thousand.

To descend to later times, the English Victories so renowned at *Cressy*, *Poitiers* and *Agencourt*, were gained with disadvantages of numbers out of all proportion. The great Atchievements of *Charles* the eighth in *Italy*, of *Henry* the fourth in *France*, and of *Gustavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, were ever perform'd with smaller against greater numbers. In this Age, and among all the Exploits that have so justly raised the Reputation and Honor of *Monsieur Turenne* for the greatest Captain of his time, I do not remember, any of them were atchieved, without disadvantage of number: And the late Defeat of the *Turks* at the siege of *Vienna*, which saved Christendom, and has eternised the name of the Duke of *Lorain*, was

too

too freſh and great an Example of this Aſſertion, to need any more, or leave it in diſpute.

From theſe two Principles of Conqueſt having proceeded from the North to the South, and by ſmaller over greater numbers, we may conclude, that they may be attributed to the Conſtitutions of Mens Bodies who compoſe the Armies that atchieve them, or to the diſpoſitions of their Minds. The firſt of theſe may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infuſed. 'Tis without queſtion, the Northern Bodies are greater and ſtronger than the Southern, and alſo more healthy and more vigorous. The reaſon whereof, is obvious to every mans Conjecture, both from the common Effects of Air upon Appetites and Digeſtion, and from the roughneſs of the Soyl, which forces them upon Labour and Hardſhip. Now the true Original greatneſs of any Kingdom or Nation, may be accounted by the number of ſtrong and able Bodies of their Native Subjects. This is the Natural Strength of Governments, all the reſt is Art, Diſcipline, or Inſtitution.

The next Ingredient into the Compoſition of Conquering Forces, is Fearleſsneſs of Mind, whether it be occaſion'd by the Temper of the Climate, or Race, of which Men are born, or by Cuſtom, which inures Men to be inſenſible of Danger; Or by Paſſions or Opinions that are raiſed in them; For they may all have the ſame Effect. We ſee the very Beaſts and Birds of ſome Countries, as well as the Men, are naturally fearleſs. We ſee long Service in Armies or at Sea, makes Men inſenſible of Dangers. We ſee the love of Liberty, deſire of Revenge, and defence of their Country or Prince, renders them careleſs of Life. The very confidence of Victory, either from former and frequent Succeſſes, from the eſteem and opinion of their Commanders, or from the ſcorn of their Enemies, makes Armies Victorious. But chiefly, the firm and rooted Opinions of Reward or Puniſhment attending another World, and of obtaining the one or avoiding the other, by dying or conquering in the quarrel they are engaged in. And theſe are the great Sources of Victory and Fortune in Arms: For let the numbers be what they will, That Army is ever beaten, where

where the Fright firſt enters. Few Battels were loſt of old, but none ſince the uſe of Gunpowder, by the greatneſs of down-right Slaughter, before an Army runs; and the noiſe and ſmoak of Guns, both encreaſes Fear, and covers Shame, more than the antient uſe of Arms, ſo that ſince thoſe of Fire came in, Battels have been uſually ſhorter and leſs bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denyed either by Soldiers or reaſonable Men) that the Battel is loſt where the Fright firſt enters, then the reaſon will appear, why Victory has generally followed the ſmaller numbers, becauſe in a Body compoſed of more parts, it may ſooner enter upon one, than in that which conſiſts of fewer, as 'tis likelyer to find ten wiſe Men together than an hundred, and an hundred fearleſs Men than a thouſand: And thoſe who have the ſmaller Forces, endeavour moſt to ſupply that Defect by the choice Diſcipline, and Bravery of their Troops: And where the Fright once enters an Army, the greater the number, the greater the diſorder, and thereby the loſs of the Battel more certain and ſudden.

From

From all this I conclude that the compoſition of Victorious Armies, and the great true ground of Conqueſt, conſiſts firſt in the choice of the ſtrongeſt, ableſt, and hardieſt Bodies of Men: Next, in the exactneſs of Diſcipline, by which they are inured to Labour and Dangers, and to fear their Commanders more than their Enemies: And laſtly, in the Spirit given them by love of their Country or their Prince, by impreſſions of Honour or Religion, to render them fearleſs of Death, and ſo incapable, or at leaſt very difficult, to receive any fright, or break thereby into diſorder; And I queſtion not, but any brave Prince or General at the Head of forty thouſand men, who would certainly ſtand their ground, and ſooner dye than leave it, might fight any number of Forces that can be drawn together in any Field: For beſides that a greater number, may fall ſooner into fright and diſorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the Action of one days Battel, whereas very few in late Ages have laſted half that time.

The laſt Remarque I ſhall make upon this Subject is, that the Conquering Nations, have generally been thoſe, who

who placed the ſtrength of their Arms in their Foot, and not in their Horſe, which have never, till theſe later years been eſteemed capable of breaking a firm Body of Foot; nor does their Force ſeem to conſiſt in other advantage, beſides that of giving Terror upon the Fury of their firſt Charge: Nor is this Opinion leſs grounded upon Reaſon than Experience. For beſides, that Men are firmer upon their own Feet than thoſe of their Horſes, and leſs in danger of falling into diſorder, which may come from want of Diſcipline or Courage in the Horſes as well as their Riders: It is hard to imagine, that Spurs in the ſides of Horſes, ſhould have more effect or force, to make them advance upon a Charge, than Pikes, Swords, or Javelins in their Noſes and Breaſts to make them keep off, fall back or break their Ranks, and run into diſorder.

For the Experience, nothing has been more known in all Ages or more undiſputed. The Battel of *Marathon* was gained by ten thouſand Foot, againſt mighty numbers of *Perſian* Horſe as well as Foot. The famous retreat of *Xenophon*, for ſuch a length of Country and of time, was made at the head of ten thouſand

thousand *Greeks* in the face of forty thousand *Persian* Horse; nor had the Greeks above a hundred or fixscore Horse in their Camp, which they made use of only to forrage or pursue the *Persian* Horse when they fled in disorder from the points of their Pikes and Javelins. The *Macedonian* Foot, and afterwards the *Macedonian Phalanx*, were impenetrable by all the *Persian* Horse that ever encountred them. The *Roman* Legions consisted each of six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, which was all the proportion they ever had in their Victorious Armies, that could not be broken by the vast numbers of *Spanish*, *Numidian*, or *Persian* and *Armenian* Horse, they were so often engaged with. The force of the *Gothick* Nations consisted in their Foot, and of the *Turkish* or *Ottoman* Empire in their Janizaries. The Noble Conquests of the *English* in *France*, were made all by their Foot; and during that period of time, when the Crown of *Spain* made so great a Figure in *Europe*, it was all by the Force and Bravery of their *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot.

There seem to be but two Exceptions against this Rule, which are the antient

greatness

greatneſs of the *Perſians*, and modern of the *French*, whoſe chief Force have been eſteemed to conſiſt in their Horſe. But the *Perſian* Empire was raiſed by the Conqueſt of the Eaſtern Nations, whoſe Armies conſiſted chiefly in Horſe, and one againſt t'other, the beſt carried it, till they came to deal with the *Grecian* Foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the *French* Armies though the bravery of their Cavilry has been great and noble, as made up of ſo numerous a Gentry in that Kingdom, yet one chief ſtrength of their Troops muſt be allowed for, the ſeveral late Reigns, to have lain in their Bands of *Switzers*; and in this preſent Reign, *Mareſchal Turenne* muſt be acknowledged, to have made way for his Maſter's Greatneſs, by improving the Bodies of French Foot with force of Choice and Diſcipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his time

I ſhall end this Remarque with an Adventure I remember to have read in the Stories of the Dukes of *Milan*; One of them having routed a great Army of his Enemies, was enraged to find a Body of *Switzers* make ſtill a firm ſtand againſt all his Victorious Troops; He endea-

voured to break them by a desperate Charge, of some Squadrons of his *Gens d' Arms*, who were all armed, as well as the Heads and Breasts of their Horses, and so proof, as he thought, against the *Switzer* Pikes. But all this Effort proved in vain, till at length the Duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their Horses, and armed as they were, to fall in upon the *Switzers* with their Swords; They did it so desperately, some catching hold of the Heads of their Pikes, others cutting them in pieces with their broad Swords, that they at last made way for themselves and other Troops that followed them, and broke this Body of brave *Switzers*, which had been impenetrable by any Horse that could Charge them: And this seems an evident Testimony, that the Impressions of Horse upon Foot, are made by Terror rather than Force, and where that first enters, the Action is soon decided.

After all that has been said of Conquerors or Conquests, this must be confessed to hold but the second Rank in the pretensions to Heroick Virtue, and that the first has been allowed, to the wise Institution of just Orders and Laws, which

which frame ſafe and happy Governments in the World. The deſigns and effects of Conqueſts, are but the ſlaughter and ruin of Mankind, the ravaging of Countries, and defacing the World. Thoſe of wiſe and juſt Governments, are preſerving and encreaſing the Lives and Generations of Men, ſecuring their Poſſeſſions, encouraging their Endeavours, and by Peace and Riches, improving and adorning the ſeveral Scenes of the World.

So the Inſtitutions of *Moſes*, leave him a Diviner Character, than the Victories of *Joſhua*. Thoſe of *Belus*, *Oſyris*, and *Janus*, than the Proweſs of *Ninus*, *Cyrus*, and *Seſoſtris*. And if among the Antients, ſome men have been eſteemed Heroes, by the brave Atchievements of great Conqueſts and Victories; It has been, by the wiſe Inſtitution of Laws and Governments, that Others have been honoured and adored as Gods.

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proving and adorning the ſeveral Scenes
of the World.

So the Inſtinct of Love leave him a
Diviner Character, than the Virtues of
Valour. Thole of Fame, Glory, and
Luxury, than the Prowels of Arms, Co-
ward and Effeminate. And if among the
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ESSAY IV.

Of Poetry.

THE Two common Shrines, to which moſt Men offer up the Application of their Thoughts and their Lives, are Profit and Pleaſure, and by their Devotions to either of theſe, they are vulgarly diſtinguiſhed into Two Sects, and called either Buſie or Idle Men. Whether theſe Terms differ in meaning, or only in ſound, I know very well may be diſputed, and with appearance enough, ſince the Covetous Man takes perhaps as much Pleaſure in his Gains as the Voluptuous does in his Luxury, and would not purſue his Buſineſs unleſs he were pleaſed with it, upon the laſt Account of what he moſt wiſhes and deſires, nor would care for the encreaſe of his Fortunes, unleſs he

propoſed thereby, that of his Pleaſures too, in one kind or other, ſo that Pleaſure may be ſaid to be his end, whether he will allow to find it in his purſuit or no. Much ado there has been, many Words ſpent, or (to ſpeak with more reſpect to the antient Philoſophers) many Diſputes have been raiſed upon this Argument, I think to little purpoſe, and that all has been rather, an Exerciſe of Wit than an Enquiry after Truth, and all Controverſies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The beſt is to take Words as they are moſt commonly ſpoken and meant, like Coyn as it moſt currantly paſſes, without raiſing ſcruples upon the weight or the allay, unleſs the cheat or the defect, be groſs and evident. Few things in the World or none, will bear too much refining, a Thred too fine Spun will eaſily break, and the Point of a Needle too finely Filed. The uſual acceptation, takes Profit and Pleaſure, for two different things, and not only calls the Followers or Votaries of them, by ſeveral Names of Buſie and of Idle Men, but diſtinguiſhes the Faculties of the mind, that

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are Converſant about them, calling the Operations of the firſt, Wiſdom, and of the other, Wit, which is a *Saxon* Word, that is uſed to expreſs, what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French*, *Eſprit*, both from the *Latin*, but I think Wit more peculiarly ſignifies that of *Poetry*, as may occur upon Remarks of the *Runick* Language. To the firſt of theſe are Attributed, the Inventions or Productions of things generally eſteemed the moſt neceſſary, uſeful, or profitable to Human Life, either in private Poſſeſſions or publick Inſtitutions: To the other, thoſe Writings or Diſcourſes, which are the moſt Pleaſing or Entertaining, to all that read or hear them; Yet according to the Opinion of thoſe that link them together, As the Inventions of Sages and Lawgivers themſelves, do pleaſe as well as profit thoſe who approve and follow them, ſo thoſe of Poets, Inſtruct and Profit as well as Pleaſe ſuch as are Converſant in them, and the happy mixture of both theſe, makes the excellency in both thoſe compoſitions, and has given occaſion for eſteeming,

or at leaſt for calling, Heroick Virtue and Poetry, Divine.

The Names given to Poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, expreſs the ſame Opinion of them in thoſe Nations; The *Greek* ſignifying Makers or Creators, ſuch as raiſe admirable Frames and Fabricks out of nothing, which ſtrike with wonder and with pleaſure, the Eyes and Imaginations of thoſe who behold them; The *Latin* makes the ſame Word, common to Poets and to Prophets. Now as Creation, is the firſt Attribute and higheſt Operation of Divine Power, ſo is Prophecy the greateſt Emanation of Divine Spirit in the World. As the Names in thoſe Two Learned Languages, ſo the Cauſes of Poetry, are by the Writers of them, made to be Divine, and to proceed from a Cœleſtial Fire or Divine Inſpiration, and by the vulgar Opinions, recited or related to in many paſſages of thoſe Authors, the Effects of Poetry were likewiſe thought Divine and Supernatural, and Power of Charms and Enchantments were aſcribed to it.

Carmina vel Cœlo poſſunt deducere Lunam,

Carmi-

Carminibus Circe ſocios mutavit Ulyſſis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur Anguis.

But I can eaſily admire Poetry, and yet without adoring it, I can allow it to ariſe from the greateſt Excellency of natural Temper, or the greateſt Race of Native Genius, without exceeding the reach of what is Human, or giving it any Approaches of Divinity, which is, I doubt debaſed or diſhonoured, by aſcribing to it any thing, that is in the compaſs of our Action, or even Comprehenſion, unleſs it be raiſed by an immediate influence from it ſelf. I cannot allow Poetry to be more Divine in its effects, than in its cauſes, nor any Operation produced by it, to be more than purely natural, or to deſerve any other ſort of wonder, than thoſe of Muſick, or of Natural Magick, however any of them have appeared to minds little Verſed in the Speculations of Nature, of occult Qualities, and the force of Numbers or of Sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the Moon from Heaven, by force of Verſes or of Charms, either be-

believes not himself, or too easily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an Opinion, begun by the Practise of some Poet, upon the facility of some People, who knowing the time when an Eclypse would happen, told them, he would by his Charms call down the Moon at such an hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that Charming Description in *Virgil*'s Eighth Ecclogue, of all sorts of Charms and Fascinations by Verses, by Images, by Knots, by Numbers, by Fire, by Herbs, imployed upon occasion of a violent Passion, from a jealous or disappointed Love: I have recourse to the strong Impressions of Fables and of Poetry, to the easy mistakes of Popular Opinions, to the Force of Imagination, to the Secret Virtues of several Herbs, and to the Powers of Sounds: And I am sorry, the Natural History, or Account of Fascination, has not imployed the Pen of some Person, of such excellent Wit, and deep Thought and Learning, as *Casaubon*, who Writ that curious and useful Treatise of *Enthusiasm*, and

by

by it discovered the hidden or mistaken Sources of that Delusion, so frequent in all Regions and Religions of the World, and which had so fatally spread over our Country in that Age, in which this Treatise was so seasonably published. 'Tis much to be lamented, That he lived not to compleat that Work, in the Second Part he promised; or that his Friends neglected the publishing it, if it were left in Papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear Account of Enthusiasm and Fascination, from their natural Causes, would very much deserve from Mankind in general, as well as from the Common-wealth of Learning; might perhaps prevent many publick disorders, and save the Lifes of many innocent, deluded or deluding People, who suffer so frequently, upon Account of Witches and Wizards. I have seen many miserable Examples of this kind, in my youth at home, and tho' the Humor or Fashion, be a good deal worn out of the World, within Thirty or Forty Years past, yet it still remains in several remote parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, and some other Countries.

But

But to return to the Charms of Poetry, if the forſaken Lover, in that Eclogue of *Virgil*, had expected only from the Force of her Verſes, or her Charms, what is the Burthen of the Song, to bring *Daphnis* home from the Town where he was gone and engaged in a new Amour; if ſhe had pretended only to revive an old fainting Flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his Breaſt, ſhe might, for ought I know, have compaſſed ſuch Ends, by the Power of ſuch Charms, and without other than very Natural Enchantments. For there is no Queſtion, but true Poetry may have the Force, to raiſe Paſſions and to allay them, to change and to extinguiſh them, to temper Joy and Grief, to raiſe Love and Fear, nay to turn Fear into Boldneſs, and Love into Indifference, and into Hatred it ſelf; and I eaſily believe, That the diſheartned *Spartans*, were new animated, and recovered their loſt Courage, by the Songs of *Tyrtæus*, that the Cruelty and Revenge of *Phalaris*, were changed by the Odes of *Steſichorus*, into the greateſt Kindneſs and Eſteem, and that many men were as paſſionately

Ena-

Enamoured, by the Charms of *Sappho*'s Wit and Poetry, as by those of Beauty, in *Flora* or *Thais*; for 'tis not only Beauty gives Love, but Love gives Beauty to the Object that raises it; and if the possession be strong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always Beauty enough in the Person that gives it. Nor is it any great Wonder, that such Force should be found in Poetry, since in it are assembled all the Powers of Eloquence, of Musick, and of Picture, which are all allowed to make so strong Impressions upon Humane Minds. How far Men have been affected with all or any of these, needs little Proof or Testimony; The Examples have been known enough in *Greece* and in *Italy*, where some have fallen down right in Love, with the Ravishing Beauties of a lovely Object, drawn by the Skill of an admirable Painter; nay, Painters themselves, have fallen in Love with some of their own Productions, and doated on them, as on a Mistress or a fond Child, which distinguishes among the *Italians*, the several Pieces that are done by the same Hand, into several Degrees of those made for

Studio,

Studio, *con Diligenza*, or *Con Amore*; whereof the last are ever the most excelling. But there needs no more Instances of this kind, than the Stories related, and believed by the best Authors, as known and undisputed; Of the two young *Gracians*, one whereof ventured his Life, to be lock'd up all Night in the Temple, and satisfie his Passion with the Embraces and Enjoyment of a Statue of *Venus*, that was there set up, and designed for another sort of Adoration; The other pined away and dyed for being hindred his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a Statue at *Athens*.

The Powers of Musick, are either felt or known by all Men, and are allowed to work strangely upon the Mind and the Body, the Passions and the Blood, to raise Joy and Grief, to give Pleasure and Pain, to cure Diseases, and the Mortal Sting of the *Tarantula*, to give Motions to the Feet as well as the Heart, to Compose disturbed Thoughts, to assist and heighten Devotion it self. We need no Recourse to the Fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the Force of their Musick upon Fishes and Beasts, 'tis enough that

that we find the Charming of Serpents, and the Ease or Allay of an evil Spirit or Possession, attributed to it in Sacred Writ.

For the Force of Eloquence, that so often raised and appeased the Violence of Popular Commotions, and ruffled such Convulsions in the *Athenian* State, no Man need more, to make him acknowledge it, than to consider *Cæsar*, one of the greatest and wisest of mortal Men, come upon the Tribunal, full of Hatred and Revenge, and with a determined Resolution to Condemn *Milo*, yet upon the Force of *Cicero's* Eloquence, (in an Oration for his Defence) begin to change Countenance, turn pale, shake to that degree, that the Papers he held, fell out of his hand, as if he had been frighted with Words, that never was for with Blows, and at last change all his Anger into Clemency, and acquit the brave Criminal, instead of condemning him.

Now if the Strength of these three mighty Powers, be united in Poetry, we need not wonder, that such Virtues, and such Honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inspired, or has been called Divine,

vine, and yet I think it will not be disputed, that the Force of Wit, and of Reasoning, the Height of Conceptions and Expressions, may be found in Poetry as well as in Oratory, the Life and Spirit of Representation or Picture, as much as in Painting, and the Force of Sounds as well as in Musick; and how far these three natural Powers together may extend, and to what Effect, (even such as may be mistaken for Supernatural or Magical) I leave it to such Men to consider, whose Thoughts turn to such Speculations as these, or who by their native Temper and Genius, are in some degree disposed to receive the Impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Doctor *Harvey*, when he was reading *Virgil*, should sometimes throw him down upon the Table, and say he had a Devil; nor that the learned *Marie Casaubon*, should find such Charming Pleasures and Emotions, as he describes, upon the reading some Parts of *Lucretius*; that so many should cry, and with downright Tears, at some Tragedies of *Shakespear*, and so many more should feel such Fumes or Curdling of their

Blood,

Blood, upon the reading or hearing ſome excellent Pieces of Poetry, nor that *Octavia* fell into a Swound, at the recital made by *Virgil* of thoſe Verſes in the Sixth of his *Æneides*.

This is enough to aſſert the Powers of Poetry, and diſcover the Ground of thoſe Opinions of old, which derived it from Divine Inſpiration, and gave it ſo great a ſhare, in the ſuppoſed Effects of Sorcery or Magick. But as the Old Romances, ſeem to leſſen the Honour of true Proweſs and Valour in their Knights, by giving ſuch a part in all their Chief Adventures to Enchantment, ſo the true excellency and juſt eſteem of Poetry, ſeems rather debaſed than exalted, by the Stories or Belief of the Charms performed by it, which among the *Northern* Nations, grew ſo ſtrong and ſo general, that about Five or Six Hundred Years ago, all the *Runick* Poetry came to be decryed, and thoſe ancient Characters, in which they were Written, to be aboliſhed by the Zeal of Biſhops, and even by Orders and Decrees of State, which has given a great Maim, or rather an irrecoverable Loſs to the Story of thoſe *Northern* Kingdoms, the Seat

of our Anceſtors, in all the *Weſtern* parts of *Europe*.

The more true and natural Source of Poetry may be diſcovered, by obſerving to what God this Inſpiration was aſcribed by the Antients, which was *Apollo* or the Sun, eſteemed among them the God of Learning in general, but more particularly of Muſick and of Poetry. The Myſtery of this Fable, means I ſuppoſe, that a certain Noble and Vital Heat of Temper, but eſpecially of the Brain, is the true Spring of theſe Two Arts or Sciences: This was that Cœleſtial Fire, which gave ſuch a pleaſing Motion and Agitation to the minds of thoſe Men, that have been ſo much admired in the World, that raiſes ſuch infinite images of things ſo agreeable and delightful to Mankind: By the influence of this Sun, are produced thoſe Golden and Inexhauſted Mines of Invention, which has furniſhed the World with Treaſures ſo highly eſteemed, and ſo univerſally known and uſed, in all the Regions that have yet been diſcovered. From this ariſes that Elevation of Genius, which can never be produced by any Art or ſtudy, by Pains

or

or by Induſtry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples, and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature, and to be a Fire kindled out of ſome hidden ſpark of the very firſt Conception.

But tho' Invention be the Mother of Poetry, yet this Child, is like all others, born naked, and muſt be Nouriſhed with Care, Cloathed with Exactneſs and Elegance, Educated with Induſtry, Inſtructed with Art, Improved by Application, Corrected with Severity, and Accompliſhed with Labour and with Time, before it Arrives at any great Perfection or Growth: 'Tis certain that no Compoſition requires ſo many ſeveral Ingredients, or of more different ſorts than this, nor that to excel in any qualities, there are neceſſary ſo many Gifts of Nature, and ſo many improvements of Learning and of Art. For there muſt be an univerſal Genius, of great Compaſs as well as great Elevation. There muſt be ſpritely Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thouſand Productions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into every Corner, and by the Light of

that true Poetical Fire, discovering a thousand little Bodies or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them, unseen to common Eyes, and which could not be discovered, without the Rays of that Sun.

Besides the heat of Invention and liveliness of Wit, there must be the coldness of good Sense and soundness of Judgment, to distinguish between things and conceptions, which at first sight, or upon short glances, seem alike; to choose among infinite productions of Wit and Fancy, which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stifled in the Birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the Forces of Wit, all Poetry is flat and languishing; without the succors of Judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant. The true wonder of Poesy is, That such contraries must meet to compose it, a Genius both Penetrating and Solid; in Expression both Delicacy and Force; and the Frame or Fabrick of a true Poem, must have something both Sublime and Just, Amazing and Agreeable. There must be a great Agitation of Mind to Invent, a great Calm to Judge

and

and correct, there must be upon the same Tree, and at the same Time, both Flower and Fruit. To work up this Metal into exquisite Figure, there must be imploy'd the Fire, the Hammer, the Chizel and the File. There must be a general Knowledge both of Nature and of Arts, and to go the lowest that can be, there are required *Genius*, Judgment, and Application; for without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great Poet, that applyed himself much to any thing else.

When I speak of Poetry, I mean not an Ode or an Elegy, a Song or a Satyr, nor by a Poet the Composer of any of these, but of a just Poem: And after all I have said, 'tis no wonder, there should be so few have appeared, in any Parts or any Ages of the World, or that such as have, should be so much admired, and have almost Divinity ascribed to them, and to their Works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much Praise or Admiration by the Antients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their Names, I think no Man has been so bold among those that remain

to queſtion the title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not only to the firſt Rank, but to the ſupream Dominion in this State, and from whom, as the great Law-givers as well as Princes, all the Laws and Orders of it, are, or may be derived. *Homer* was without Diſpute, the moſt Univerſal *Genius* that has been known in the World, and *Virgil* the moſt accompliſh't. To the firſt muſt be allowed, the moſt fertile Invention, the richeſt Vein, the moſt general Knowledge, and the moſt lively Expreſſion: To the laſt, The nobleſt Idea's, the juſteſt Inſtitution, the wiſeſt Conduct, and the choyceſt Elocution. To ſpeak in the Painters Terms, we find in the Works of *Homer*, the moſt Spirit, Force, and Life; in thoſe of *Virgil*, the beſt Deſign, the trueſt Proportions, and the greateſt Grace; The Colouring in both ſeems equal, and indeed, in both is admirable. *Homer* had more Fire and Rapture, *Virgil* more Light and Sweetneſs; or at leaſt the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the firſt more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The Oare was richer in one, but in t'other more refined,

fined, and better allay'd, to make up excellent Work. Upon the whole, I think it muſt be confeſſed, that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps, of all others, the vaſteſt, the ſublimeſt, and the moſt wonderful *Genius*; and that he has been generally ſo eſteemed, there cannot be a greater Teſtimony given, than what has been by ſome obſerved that not only the Greateſt Maſters, have found in his Works, the beſt and trueſt Principles of all their Sciences or Arts, but that the nobleſt Nations, have derived from them, the Original of their ſeveral Races, though it be hardly yet agreed, Whether his Story be True, or Fiction. In ſhort, theſe two immortal Poets, muſt be allowed to have ſo much excelled in their kinds, as to have exceeded all Compariſon; to have even extinguiſhed Emulation, and in a manner confined true Poetry, not only to their two Languages, but to their very Perſons. And I am apt to believe ſo much of the true *Genius* of Poetry in general, and of its Elevation in theſe two Particulars, that I know not, whether of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compaſs of a Thouſand Years; for one

Man that is born capable of making such a Poet as *Homer* or *Virgil*, there may not be a Thousand born Capable of making as great Generals of Armies, or Ministers of State, as any the most Renowned in Story.

I do not here intend to make a further Critick upon Poetry, which were too great a Labour, nor to give Rules for it, which were as great a Presumption: Besides, there has been so much Paper blotted upon these Subjects, in this Curious and Censuring Age, that 'tis all grown tedious or Repetition. The Modern *French* Wits (or Pretenders) have been very severe in their Censures, and exact in their Rules, I think to very little Purpose; For I know not, why they might not have contented themselves, with those given by *Aristotle* and *Horace*, and have Translated them rather than Commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more, so as they seem, by their Writings of this kind, rather to have valued themselves, than improved any body else. The Truth is, there is something in the *Genius* of Poetry, too Libertine to be confined to so many Rules; and whoever goes about to sub-

ject

ject it to ſuch Conſtraints, loſes both its Spirit and Grace, which are ever Native, and never learnt, even of the beſt Maſters. 'Tis as if to make excellent Honey, you ſhould cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them, ſuch as you think the ſweeteſt, and like to yield the fineſt Extraction; you had as good pull out their Stings, and make arrant Drones of them. They muſt range through Fields, as well as Gardens, chooſe ſuch Flowers as they pleaſe, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and diſtinguiſh: They muſt work up their Cells with Admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and ſever it from the Wax, with ſuch Diſtinction and Choyce, as belongs to none but themſelves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much Mortification, to theſe great Arbitrary Rulers, among the *French* Writers, or our own, to Obſerve the worthy Productions that have been formed by their Rules, the Honour they have received in the World, or the Pleaſure they have given Mankind. But to comfort them,

I do not know, there was any great Poet in *Greece*, after the Rules of that Art layd down by *Ariſtotle*, nor in *Rome*, after thoſe by *Horace*, which yet none of our Moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theocritus* and *Lucan*, may be alledg'd againſt this Aſſertion, but the firſt offered no further, than at Idils or Eclogues; and the laſt, though he muſt be avowed for a true and a happy *Genius*, and to have made ſome very high Flights, yet he is ſo unequal to himſelf, and his Muſe is ſo young, that his Faults are too noted, to allow his Pretences. *Feliciter audet*, is the true Character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Luſit amabiliter*. After all, the utmoſt that can be atchieved, or I think pretended, by any Rules in this Art, is but to hinder ſome men from being very ill Poets, but not to make any man a very good one. To judge who is ſo, we need go no further for Inſtruction, than three Lines of *Horace*.

——*Ille meum qui Pectus inaniter angit,*
Irritat, mulcet, falſis terroribus implet,
Ut Magus, *& modo me* Thebis, *modo ponit*
(Athenis.

He

He is a Poet,

Who vainly anguiſhes my Breaſt,
Provokes, allays, and with falſe Terror fills,
Like a Magician, and now ſets me down
In Thebes, *and now in* Athens.

Whoever does not affect and move the ſame preſent Paſſions in you, that he repreſents in others, and at other times, raiſe Images about you, as a Conjurer is ſaid to do Spirits, Tranſport you to the Places and to the Perſons he deſcribes, cannot be judged to be a Poet, though his Meaſures are never ſo juſt, his Feet never ſo ſmooth, or his Sounds never ſo ſweet.

But inſtead of Critick, or Rules concerning Poetry, I ſhall rather turn my Thoughts to the Hiſtory of it, and obſerve the Antiquity, the Uſes, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit.

It is I think generally agreed, to have been the firſt ſort of Writing that has been uſed in the World; and in ſeveral Nations to have preceded the very Invention or Uſage of Letters. This laſt is certain in *America*, where the firſt *Spaniards* met with many

many ſtrains of Poetry, and left ſeveral of them Tranſlated into their Language, which ſeem to have flowed from a true Poetick Vein, before any Letters were known in thoſe Regions. The ſame is probable of the *Scythians*, the *Grecians*, and the *Germans*. *Ariſtotle* ſays, the *Agathyrſi* had their Laws all in Verſe; and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no Annals nor Records but what were ſo; and for the *Grecian* Oracles delivered in them, we have no certain Account when they began, but rather reaſon to believe it was before the Introduction of Letters from *Phœnicia* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a thing known, that *Pherecides* was the firſt who Writ Proſe in the *Greek* Tongue, and that he lived about the time of *Cyrus*; whereas *Homer* and *Heſiod* lived ſome Hundreds of Years before that Age; and *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Muſæus*, ſome Hundreds before them: And of the *Sybils*, ſeveral were before any of thoſe, and in times as well as places, whereof we have no clear Records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* Writ, is ſaid to have been in Verſe, who were ſomething older than *Cyrus*;

and

and before them, were *Archilocus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrtæus*, *Sappho*, *Steſichorus* and ſeveral other Poets famous in their times. The ſame thing is reported of *Chaldæa*, *Syria* and *China*; among the ancient *Weſtern Goths* (our Anceſtors) the *Runick* Poetry, ſeems to have been as old as their Letters; and their Laws, their Precepts of Wiſdom as well as their Records, their Religious Rites as well as their Charms and Incantations, to have been all in Verſe.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in Sacred Writ the moſt antient, is by ſome Learned Men eſteemed to be the Book of *Job*, and that it was Written before the time of *Moſes*, and that it was a Tranſlation into *Hebrew* out of the old *Chaldæan* or *Arabian* Language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a *Jew*, from the place of his abode, which appears to have been Seated between the *Chaldæans* of one ſide, and the *Sabæans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other, and by many Paſſages, of that admirable and truly inſpired Poem, the Author ſeems to have lived in ſome Parts near the Mouth of *Euphrates* or the

Perſian

Persian Gulf, where he contemplated the Wonders of the Deep as well as the other Works of Nature, common to those Regions. Nor is it easy to find any Traces of the *Mosaical* Rites or Institutions, either in the Divine Worship, or the Morals related to, in those Writings: For not only Sacrifices and Praises, were much more antient in Religious Service, than the Age of *Moses*; But the Opinion of one Diety, and Adored without any Idol or Representation was Professed and Received among the antient *Persians* and *Hetrusceans* and *Chaldæans*. So that if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, 'tis probable he may have been of the Race of *Heber* who lived in *Chaldæa*, or of *Abraham* who is supposed to have left that Country for the Profession or Worship of one God, rather than from the Branch of *Isaac* and *Israel*, who lived in the Land of *Canaan*. Now I think it is out of Controversy, that the Book of *Job* was Written Originally in Verse, and was a Poem upon the Subject of the Justice and Power of God, and in Vindication of his Providence, against the common Arguments of Atheistical Men, who took occasion to dispute it,

from

from the uſual Events of Human things, by which ſo many ill and impious Men ſeem Happy and Proſperous in the courſe of their Lives, and ſo many Pious and Juſt Men, ſeem Miſerable or Afflicted. The *Spaniſh* Tranſlation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew* (as near as could be) word for word; and for which, all Tranſlators of the Bible ſince, have had great Regard, gives us the Two firſt Chapters, and the Laſt from the ſeventh Verſe in Proſe, as an Hiſtorical Introduction and Concluſion of the Work, and all the reſt in Verſe, except the Tranſitions from one Part or Perſon of this Sacred Dialogue to another.

But if we take the Books of *Moſes* to be the moſt antient in the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet the Song of *Moſes* may probably have been Written before the reſt; as that of *Deborah*, before the Book of *Judges*, being Praiſes ſung to God, upon the Victories or Succeſſes of the *Iſraelites*, related in both. And I never read the laſt, without obſerving in it, as True and Noble Strains of Poetry and Picture, as in any other Language whatſoever, in ſpight of all Diſadvantages from Tranſlations into ſo different

Tongues

Tongues and common Proſe. If an Opinion of ſome Learned Men both Modern and Antient could be allowed, that *Eſdras* was the Writer or Compiler of the firſt Hiſtorical Parts of the Old Teſtament, though from the ſame Divine Inſpiration as that of *Moſes* and the other Prophets, then the Pſalms of *David* would be the firſt Writings we find in *Hebrew*; and next to them, the Song of *Solomon* which was written when he was young, and *Eccleſiaſtes* when he was old: So that from all ſides, both Sacred and Prophane, It appears that *Poetry* was the firſt ſort of Writing known and uſed in the ſeveral Nations of the World.

It may ſeem ſtrange, I confeſs, upon the firſt thought, that a ſort of Style ſo regular and ſo difficult, ſhould have grown in uſe, before the other ſo eaſy and ſo looſe: But if we conſider, what the firſt end of Writing was, it will appear probable from Reaſon as well as Experience; For the true and General End, was but the Help of Memory, in preſerving that of Words and of Actions, which would otherwiſe have been loſt, and ſoon vaniſh away, with the Tranſitory Paſſage of Human Breath

and

and Life. Before the Diſcourſes and Diſputes of Philoſophers, began to buſie or amuſe the *Græcian* Wits, there was nothing Written in Proſe, but either Laws, ſome ſhort Sayings of Wiſe men, or ſome Riddles, Parables or Fables, wherein were couched by the Antients, many Strains of Natural or Moral Wiſdom and Knowledge; and beſides theſe, ſome ſhort Memorials of Perſons, Actions, and of Times. Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive, how much eaſier, all ſuch Writings ſhould be Learnt and Remembred, in Verſe than in Proſe, not only by the Pleaſure of Meaſures and of Sounds, which gives a great Impreſſion to Memory, but by the order of Feet which makes a great Facility of Tracing one Word after another, by knowing what ſort of Foot or Quantity, muſt neceſſarily have preceded or followed the Words we retain and deſire to make up.

This made Poetry ſo neceſſary, before Letters were invented, and ſo convenient afterwards; and ſhews, that the great Honor and general Requeſt, wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only, from the Pleaſure and Delight, but likewiſe from the Uſefulneſs and

Profit of Poetical Writings.

This leads me naturally to the Subjects of Poetry, which have been generally, Praise, Instruction, Story, Love, Grief, and Reproach. Praise, was the Subject of all the Songs and Psalms mentioned in Holy Writ, of the Hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer* and many others; Of the *Carmina Secularia* in *Rome*, Composed all and Designed for the Honor of their Gods; Of *Pindar*, *Stesichorus*, and *Tyrtaus*, in the Praises of Virtue or Virtuous Men. The Subject of *Job*, is Instruction concerning the Attributes of God and the Works of Nature. Those of *Simonides*, *Phocillides*, *Theognis*, and several other of the smaller *Greek* Poets, with what passes for *Pythagoras*, are Instructions in Morality: The first Book of *Hesiod* and *Virgils Georgicks*, in Agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepest natural Philosophy. Story, is the proper Subject of *Heroick* Poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*; And *Fable*, which is a sort of Story, in the *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyrick* Poetry has been chiefly Conversant about Love, tho' turned often upon Praise too; and the Vein of Pastorals and Eclogues has run the same

ſame courſe, as may be obſerved in *Theocritus*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, who was I think, the firſt and laſt of true *Lyrick* Poets among the *Latins:* Grief has been always the Subject of *Elegy*, and Reproach that of *Satyr*. The *Dramatick* Poeſy has been Compoſed of all theſe, but the chief end ſeems to have been Inſtruction, and under the diſguiſe of Fables, or the Pleaſure of Story; to ſhew the Beauties and the Rewards of Virtue, the Deformities and Miſfortunes, or Puniſhment of Vice: By Examples of both, to Encourage one, and Deter Men from the other; to Reform ill Cuſtoms, Correct ill Manners, and Moderate all violent Paſſions. Theſe are the general Subjects of both Parts; tho' Comedy give us but the Images of common Life, and Tragedy thoſe of the greater and more extraordinary Paſſions and Actions among Men. To go further upon this Subject, would be to tread ſo beaten Paths, that to Travel in them, only raiſes Duſt, and is neither of Pleaſure nor of Uſe.

For the Changes that have happened in Poetry, I ſhall obſerve one Antient, and the others that are Modern will be too Remarkable, in the

Declines or Decays of this great Empire of Wit. The first Change of Poetry was made, by Translating it into Prose, or Cloathing it in those loose Robes, or common Veils that disguised or covered the true Beauty of its Features, and Exactness of its Shape. This was done first by *Æsop* in *Greek*, but the Vein was much more antient in the *Eastern* Regions, and much in Vogue, as we may observe, in the many Parables used in the old Testament, as well as in the New. And there is a Book of Fables, of the sort of *Æsop*'s, Translated out of *Persian*, and pretended to have been so, into that Language out of the antient *Indian*; But though it seems Genuine of the *Eastern* Countries, yet I do not take it to be so old, nor to have so much Spirit as the *Greek*. The next Succession of Poetry in Prose, seems to have been in the *Miletian* Tales, which were a sort of little Pastoral Romances; and though much in request in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no Examples that I know of them, unless it be the *Longi Pastoralia*, which gives a Tast of the great Delicacy and Pleasure, that was found so generally in those

sort

ſort of Tales. The laſt kind of Poetry in Proſe, is that which in latter Ages has over-run the World, under the Name of Romances, which tho' it ſeems Modern, and a Production of the *Gothick* Genius, yet the Writing is antient. The remainders of *Petronius Arbiter*, ſeem to be of this kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his True Hiſtory: But the moſt antient that paſſes by the Name, is *Heliodorus*, Famous for the Author's chuſing to loſe his Biſhoprick, rather than diſown that Child of his Wit. The true Spirit or Vein of antient Poetry in this kind, ſeems to ſhine moſt in Sir *Philip Sidney*, whom I eſteem both the greateſt Poet and the Nobleſt Genius of any that have left Writings behind them, and publiſhed in ours or any other modern Language; a Perſon born capable not only of forming the greateſt *Ideas*, but of leaving the nobleſt Examples, if the length of his Life had been equal to the excellence of his Wit and his Virtues.

With him I leave the Diſcourſe of antient Poetry, and to diſcover the Decays of this Empire, muſt turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the Decays, or rather Extinction

of the old, as if true Poetry being dead, an Apparition of it walked about. This mighty Change, arrived by no ſmaller Occaſions, nor more ignoble Revolutions, than thoſe which deſtroyed the antient Empire and Government of *Rome*, and Erected ſo many New ones upon their Ruins, by the Invaſions and Conqueſts, or the general Inundations of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and other Barbarous or Northern Nations, upon thoſe Parts of *Europe*, that had been ſubject to the *Romans*. After the Conqueſts made by *Cæſar* upon *Gaul*, and the nearer Parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* by their Lieutenants or Generals, great Numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* reſorted to the *Roman* Armies and to the City it ſelf, and habituated themſelves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Græcians* had done before upon the Conqueſt of thoſe Countries. This mixture, ſoon Corrupted the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue, ſo that in *Lucan*, but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harſh Allay, entered into the Style of the *Auguſtan* Age. After *Trajan* and *Adrian* had ſubdued many *German* and *Scythian* Nations, on both ſides of the

Danube

Danube, the Commerce of thoſe barbarous People grew very frequent with the *Romans*; and I am apt to think, that the little Verſes aſcribed to *Adrian*, were in imitation of the *Runick* Poetry. The *Scythicas Pati Pruinas* of *Florus*, ſhews their Race or Clymate, and the firſt Rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little Alluſions of Letters or Syllables, is in that of *Adrian* at his Death.

O Animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Palidula, lurida, timidula,
Nec ut ſoles dabis joca.

'Tis probable the old Spirit of Poetry, being loſt or frighted away by thoſe long and bloody Wars with ſuch barbarous Enemies, this New Ghoſt began to appear in its room, even about that Age, or elſe that *Adrian*, who affected that piece of Learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old Vein, turned to a new one, which his Expeditions into thoſe Countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his Example recommended to others. In the time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodorick* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* Poetry

ſmell rank of this *Gothick* Imitation, and the old vein quite ſeared up.

After that Age, Learning grew every day more and more obſcured, by that Cloud of Ignorance, which coming from the *North*, and increaſing with the Numbers and Succeſſes of thoſe barbarous People, at length over-ſhadowed all *Europe* for ſo long together. The *Roman* Tongue began it ſelf to fail or be diſuſed, and by its Corruption made way for the Generation of three New Languages, in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles, who were of the Conquering Nations, for ſeveral Ages uſed their *Gothick*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* Tongues, which were mingled with thoſe of *Germany*, where ſome of the *Goths* had ſojourned long, before they proceeded to their Conqueſts of the more *Southern* or *Weſtern* Parts. Wherever the *Roman* Colonies had long remained, and their Language had been generally ſpoken, the common People uſed that ſtill, but vitiated with the baſe allay of their Provincial Speech. This in *Charlemain*'s time was called in *France*, *Ruſtica Romana*; and in *Spain* during the *Gothick* Reigns there, *Romance*; but in *England*, from whence all the *Roman*

Roman Souldiers, and great Numbers of the *Britains* moſt accuſtomed to their Commerce and Language, had been drained, for the Defence of *Gaul* againſt the barbarous Nations that invaded it about the time of *Valentinian*, that Tongue being wholly extinguiſh't, (as well as their own) made way for the intire uſe of the *Saxon* Language. With theſe Changes, the antient Poetry was wholly loſt in all theſe Countries, and a new ſort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new Name of Rhimes with an eaſy Change of the *Gothick* Word *Runes*, and not from the *Greek*, *Rythmes*, as is vulgarly ſuppoſed.

Runes, was properly the Name of the Antient *Gothick* Letters or Characters, which were Invented firſt or introduced by *Odin*, in the Colony or Kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths*, which he Planted in the *North-Weſt* Parts, and round the *Baltick* Sea, as has been before related. But becauſe all the Writings, they had among them for many Ages, were in Verſe, it came to be the common Name of all ſorts of Poetry among the *Goths*, and the Writers or Compoſers of them, were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewiſe another Name for them,

or

or for ſome ſorts of them, which was *Väſes* or *Wiſes*, and becauſe the Sages of that Nation, expreſſed the beſt of their Thoughts, and what Learning and Prudence they had, in theſe kind of Writings, they that ſucceeded beſt and with moſt Applauſe were termed Wiſemen, the good Senſe, or Learning, or uſeful Knowledge contained in them, was called Wiſdom, and the pleaſant or facetious Vein among them was called Wit, which was applied to all Spirit or Race of Poetry, where it was found in any Men, and was generally pleaſing to thoſe that heard or read them.

Of theſe *Runes*, there were in uſe among the *Goths* above a hundred ſeveral ſorts, ſome Compoſed in longer, ſome in ſhorter Lines, ſome equal and others unequal, with many different Cadencies, Quantities, or Feet, which in the pronouncing, make many different ſorts of Original or Natural Tunes. Some were Framed with Alluſions of Words, or Conſonance of Syllables, or of Letters, either in the ſame Line or in the Dyſtick, or by alternate Succeſſion and Reſemblance, which made a ſort of Gingle, that pleaſed the ruder Ears of that People. And becauſe

becauſe their Language was compoſed moſt of Monoſyllables, and of ſo great Numbers, many muſt end in the ſame Sound; another ſort of *Runes* were made, with the Care and Study of ending two Lines, or each other of four Lines, with Words of the ſame ſound, which being the eaſieſt, requiring leſs Art, and needing leſs Spirit (becauſe a certain Chime in the Sounds ſupplied that want, and pleaſed common Ears); this in time grew the moſt general among all the *Gothick* Colonies in *Europe*, and made Rhymes or Runes paſs for the modern Poetry, in theſe Parts of the World.

This was not uſed only in their modern Languages, but during thoſe ignorant Ages, even in that barbarous *Latin* which remained and was preſerved among the *Monks* and *Prieſts*, to diſtinguiſh them, by ſome ſhew of Learning from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what Degree ſoever, and Reverence the Profeſſors, when they themſelves could neither Write nor Read even in their own Language; I mean not only the Vulgar Lay-men, but even the Generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them; and this laſted, till the antient Learning and Languages

began

began to be reſtored in *Europe*, about Two Hundred Years ago.

The common vein of the *Gothick Runes* was what is Termed *Dithyrambick*, and was of a raving or rambling ſort of Wit or Invention, looſe and flowing, with little Art or Confinement to any certain Meaſures or Rules; yet ſome of it wanted not the true Spirit of Poetry in ſome Degree, or that natural Inſpiration which has been ſaid to ariſe from ſome Spark of Poetical Fire, wherewith particular Men are born. And ſuch as it was, it ſerved the turn, not only to pleaſe, but even to Charm the Ignorant and Barbarous Vulgar, where it was in uſe. This made the *Runers* among the *Goths*, as much in requeſt and admired, as any of the antient and moſt celebrated Poets were among the Learned Nations; for among the blind, he that has one Eye is a Prince. They were as well as the others thought inſpired, and the Charms of their *Runick* Conceptions, were gerally eſteemed Divine, or Magical at leaſt.

The ſubjects of them were various, but commonly the ſame with thoſe already obſerved in the true antient Poetry.

try. Yet this Vein was chiefly imployed, upon the Records of Bold and Martial Actions, and the Praiſes of Valiant Men that had fought Succeſsfully or Dyed Bravely, and theſe Songs or Ballads were uſually ſung at Feaſts, or in Circles of Young or Idle Perſons, and ſerved to inflame the Humour of War, of Slaughter and of Spoils among them. More refined Honour or Love had little Part in the Writings, becauſe it had little in the Lives or Actions of thoſe fierce People and bloody Times. Honour among them conſiſted in Victory, and Love in Rapes and in Luſt.

But as the true Flame of Poetry was rare among them, and the reſt was but Wild Fire that Sparkled or rather Crackled a while, and ſoon went out with little Pleaſure or Gazing of the Beholders; Thoſe *Runers* who could not raiſe Admiration by the Spirit of their Poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of Enchantments; This came in to ſupply the Defect of that ſublime and Marvellous, which has been found both in Poetry and Proſe among the Learned Antients. The *Gothick Runers* to Gain and Eſtabliſh the Credit and Admiration of their Rhymes, turned the uſe

of

of them very much to Incantations and Charms, pretending by them, to raiſe Storms, to Calm the Seas, to cauſe Terror in their Enemies, to Tranſport themſelves in the Air, to Conjure Spirits, to Cure Diſeaſes, and Stanch Bleeding Wounds, to make Women kind or eaſy, and Men hard or invulnerable; as one of their moſt antient *Runers*, affirms of himſelf and his own Atchievments, by Force of theſe Magical Arms. The Men or Women who were thought to perform ſuch Wonders or Enchantments, were from *Väſes* or *Wiſes*, the Name of thoſe Verſes wherein their Charms were conceived, called *Wizards* or *Witches*.

Out of this Quarry, ſeem to have been raiſed, all thoſe Trophees of Enchantment, that appear in the whole Fabrick of the old *Spaniſh* Romances, which were the Productions of the *Gothick* Wit among them during their Reign, and after the Conqueſts of *Spain*, by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long Wars between them and the Chriſtians. From the ſame perhaps may be derived, all the viſionary Tribe of *Faries*, *Elves*, and *Goblins*, of *Sprites* and of *Bul-beggars*, that ſerve not only to fright Children into whatever their Nurſes pleaſe, but

ſome-

ſometimes, by laſting Impreſſions, to diſquiet the ſleeps and the very Lives of Men and Women, till they grow to Years of Diſcretion, and that God knows is a Period of time, which ſome People Arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never. At leaſt this belief prevailed ſo far among the *Goths* and their Races, that all ſorts of Charms, were not only Attributed to their *Runes* or *Verſes*, but to their very Characters; ſo that about the Eleventh Century, they were forbidden and aboliſhed in *Sweden*, as they had been before in *Spain*, by Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Commands or Conſtitutions, and what has been ſince recovered of that Learning or Language, has been fetcht as far as *Yſland* it ſelf.

How much of this Kind, and of this Credulity remained even to our own Age, may be obſerved by any Man that Reflects ſo far as Thirty or Forty Years; how often Avouched, and how generally Credited were the Stories of *Fairies*, *Sprites*, *Witchcrafts*, and *Enchantments*; In ſome Parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common People believed certainly, there were *Lougaroos*, or Men turned into Wolves; and I remember ſeveral *Iriſh* of the ſame mind. The

Remain-

Remainders are woven into our very Language, *Mara* in old *Runick*, was a *Goblin* that ſeized upon Men aſleep in their Beds, and took from them all Speech and Motion. Old *Nicka* was a Sprite that came to ſtrangle People who fell into the Water: *Bo* was a fierce *Gothick* Captain, Son of *Odin*, whoſe Name was uſed by his Souldiers when they would Fright or Surpriſe their Enemies; and the Proverb of Rhyming, *Rats to Death*, came I ſuppoſe from the ſame Root.

There were not longer ſince than the time I have mentioned, ſome Remainders of the *Runick* Poetry among the *Iriſh*. The Great Men of their Septs, among the many Offices of their Family, which continued always in the ſame Races, had not only a *Phyſician*, a *Hunts-man*, a *Smith*, and ſuch like, but a *Poet*, and a *Tale-teller*: The firſt Recorded and Sung the Actions of their Anceſtors, and Entertained the Company at Feaſts; The Latter, Amuzed them with Tales when they were Melancholy and could not ſleep: And a very Gallant Gentleman of the *North* of *Ireland* has told me, of his own Experience, That in his Wolf-Huntings there, when he uſed to be a-

broad

broad in the Mountains three or four Days together, and lay very ill a Nights, ſo as he could not well ſleep, they would bring him one of theſe *Tale-tellers*, that when he lay down, would begin a Story of a King, or a Gyant, a Dwarf and a Damoſel, and ſuch rambling ſtuff, and continue it all Night long in ſuch an even Tone, that you heard it going on, whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any Phyſitians give, could have ſo good and ſo innocent effect, to make Men ſleep, in any Pains or Diſtempers of Body or Mind. I remember in my youth, ſome Perſons of our Country to have ſaid Grace in Rhymes, and others their conſtant Prayers; and 'tis vulgar enough, that ſome Deeds or Conveyances of Land, have been ſo, ſince the Conqueſt.

In ſuch poor wretched Weeds as theſe, was Poetry cloathed during thoſe ſhades of Ignorance that over-ſpread all *Europe*, for ſo many Ages after the Sun ſet of the *Roman* Learning and Empire together, which were Succeeded by ſo many New Dominions, or Plantations of the *Gothick* Swarms, and by a New Face of Cuſtoms, Habit, Language, and almoſt of Nature: But upon the dawn of a New Day, and the Reſurrection of other Sci-

ences, with the Two Learned Languages among us, This of Poetry began to appear very early, tho' very unlike it self, and in ſhapes as well as Cloaths, in Humor and in Spirit very different from the Antient. It was now all in Rhyme, after the *Gothick* Faſhion, for indeed none of the ſeveral Dialects of that Language or Allay, would bear the Compoſure of ſuch Feet and Meaſures, as were in uſe among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and ſome that attempted it, ſoon left it off, deſpairing of Succeſs. Yet in this new Dreſs, Poetry was not without ſome Charms, eſpecially thoſe of Grace and Sweetneſs, and the Ore begun to ſhine in the Hands and Works of the firſt Refiners. *Petrach*, *Ronſard*, *Spencer*, met with much Applauſe upon the Subjects of Love, Praiſe, Grief, Reproach. *Arioſto* and *Taſſo*, entred boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but having not Wings for ſo high Flights, began to Learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius, or Diſadvantage of New Languages and Cuſtoms would allow. The Religion of the Gentiles, had been woven into the Contexture of all the antient Poetry, with a very agreable mixture, which made

made the Moderns affect, to give that of Christianity, a place also in their Poems. But the true Religion, was not found to become Fiction so well, as a false had done, and all their Attempts of this kind, seemed rather to debase Religion, than to heighten Poetry. *Spencer* endeavoured to supply this, with Morality, and to make Instruction, instead of Story, the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. His Execution was Excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very Noble and High, but his Design was Poor, and his Moral lay so bare, that it lost the Effect; 'tis true, the Pill was Gilded, but so thin, that the Colour and the Taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the Moderns that have made any Atchievments in *Heroick* Poetry worth Recording. The Wits of the Age, soon left off such bold Adventures, and turned to other Veins, as if not worthy to sit down at the Feast, they contented themselves with the Scraps, with Songs and Sonnets, with Odes and Elegies, with Satyrs and Panegyricks, and what we call Copies of Verses upon any Subjects or Occasions, wanting either Genius or Application for Nobler or more Laborious Productions, as *Painters* that cannot Succeed

ceed in great Pieces, turn to Miniature.

But the modern Poets, to value this ſmall Coyn, and make it paſs, tho' of ſo much a baſer Metal than the old, gave it a New Mixture from Two Veins, which were little known or little eſteemed among the Ancients. There were indeed certain *Fatrjes* in the old Regions of Poetry, called *Epigrams*, which ſeldom reached above the Stature of Two, or Four, or Six Lines, and which Being ſo ſhort, were all turned upon Conceit, or ſome ſharp Hits of Fancy or Wit. The only Ancient of this kind among the *Latins*, were the *Priapeia*, which were little Voluntaries or Extemporaries, Written upon the ridiculous Woodden Statues of *Priapus*, among the Gardens of *Rome*. In the decays of the *Roman* Learning and Wit as well as Language, *Martial*, *Auſonius*, and others fell into this Vein, and applied it indifferently to all Subjects, which was before Reſtrained to one, and Dreſt it ſomething more cleanly than it was Born. This Vein of Conceit, ſeemed proper for ſuch Scraps or Splinters, into which Poetry was broken, and was ſo eagerly followed, as almoſt to over-run all that was Compoſed in our ſeveral modern Languages; The *Italian*, the *French*, the

the *Spaniſh* as well as *Engliſh*, were for a great while full of nothing elſe but Conceit: It was an Ingredient, that gave Taſte to Compoſitions which had little of themſelves; 'twas a Sauce that gave Point to Meat that was Flat, and ſome Life to Colours that were Fading, and in ſhort, thoſe who could not furniſh Spirit, ſupplied it with this Salt, which may preſerve Things or Bodys that are Dead; but is, for ought I know, of little uſe to the Living, or neceſſary to Meats that have much or pleaſing Taſts of their own. However it were, this Vein firſt over-flowed our modern Poetry, and with ſo little Diſtinction or Judgment that we would have Conceit as well as Rhyme in every Two Lines, and run through all our long Scribbles as well as the ſhort, and the whole Body of the Poem, whatever it is: This was juſt as if a Building ſhould be nothing but Ornament, or Cloaths nothing but Trimming; as if a Face ſhould be covered over with black Patches, or a Gown with Spangles, which is all I ſhall ſay of it.

Another Vein which has entred and helpt to Corrupt our modern Poeſy, is that of Ridicule, as if nothing pleaſed but what made one Laugh, which yet come

from Two very different Affections of the Mind; for as Men have no Disposition to Laugh at things they are most pleased with, so they are very little pleased with many things they Laught at.

But this mistake is very general, and such modern Poets, as found no better way of pleasing, thought they could not fail of it, by Ridiculing. This was Encouraged by finding Conversation run so much into the same Vein, and the Wits in Vogue to take up with that Part of it, which was formerly left to those that were called Fools, and were used in great Families, only to make the Company Laugh. What Opinion the *Romans* had of this Character, appears in those Lines of *Horace*:

——— *Absentem qui rodit amicum,*
Qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
Qui captat risus hominum famamq; dicacis
Fingere qui non visa potest, Commissa tacere
Qui nequit, Hic Niger est, Hunc tu Romane
[*caveto.*

And 'tis pity the Character of a Wit, in one Age, should be so like that of a Black in another.

Rablais seems to have been Father of the Ridicule, a Man of Excellent and Universal

verſal Learning as well as Wit, and tho' he had too much Game given him for *Satyr* in that Age, by the Cuſtoms of Courts and of Convents, of Proceſſes and of Wars, of Schools and of Camps, of Romances and Legends; Yet he muſt be Confeſt to have kept up his Vein of Ridicule by ſaying many things ſo Malicious, ſo Smutty, and ſo Prophane, that either a Prudent, a Modeſt, or a Pious Man, could not have afforded, tho' he had never ſo much of that Coyn about him, and it were to be wiſhed, that the Wits who have followed his Vein, had not put too much Value upon a Dreſs, that better Underſtandings would not wear (at leaſt in publick) and upon a compaſs they gave themſelves, which other Men would not take. The Matchleſs Writer of *Don Quixot* is much more to be admired, for having made up ſo excellent a Compoſition of Satyr or Ridicule, without thoſe Ingredients, and ſeems to be the beſt and higheſt Strain that ever was, or will be reached by that Vein.

It began firſt in Verſe, with an *Italian* Poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*, was purſued by *Scarron* in *French* with his *Virgil* Traveſty, and in *Engliſh* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras*, and *Cotton*, and

with greater height of *Burlesque* in the *English*, than I think in any other Language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Design, the Custom, and Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed, to all Virtue and Good Qualities among Men, which must be disheartened, by finding how unjustly and undistinguish't they fall under the lash of Raillery, and this Vein of Ridiculing the Good as well as the Ill, the Guilty and the Innocent together. 'Tis a very poor, tho' common Pretence to merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may pass in a Room, where the rest of the Company are allowed to have none; 'tis something to sparkle among Diamonds, but to shine among *Pebbles*, is neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending.

Besides, these two Veins brought in, to supply the Defects of the modern Poetry, much Application has been made to the smoothness of Language or Style, which has at the best, but the Beauty of Colouring in a Picture, & can never make a good one, without Spirit and Strength. The Academy set up by Cardinal *Richlieu*, to amuse the Wits of that Age and Country, and divert them from raking

raking into his Politicks and Ministry, brought this in Vogue, and the *French* Wits have for this last Age, been in a manner, wholly turned to the Refinement of their Language, and indeed with such Success, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their Verse and their Prose. The same Vein has been likewise much Cultivated in our modern *English* Poetry, and by such poor Recruits, have the broken Forces of this Empire been of late made up, with what Success I leave to be judged by such, as consider it in the former Heights, and the present Declines both of Power and of Honour, but this will not discourage, however it may affect, the true Lovers of this Mistris, who must ever think her a Beauty in Rags as well as in Robes.

Among these many Decays, there is yet one sort of Poetry, that seems to have succeeded much better with our Moderns, than any of the rest, which is *Dramatick*, or that of the Stage: In this the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and the *French*, have all had their different Merit, and received their just Applauses. Yet I am deceived, if our *English*, has not in some kind excelled both the Modern

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and the Antient, which has been by Error of the Vein Natural perhaps to our Country, and which with us is called Humour, a Word peculiar to our Language only, and hard to be expressed in any other; nor is it (that I know of) found in any Foreign Writers, unless it be *Molière*, and yet his it self, has not much of the Farce, to pass for the same with ours. *Shakespear* was the first that opened this Vein upon our Stage, which has run so freely and so pleasantly ever since, that I have often wondered, to find it appear so little upon any others; being a Subject so proper for them, since Humour is but a Picture of particular Life, as Comedy is of general; and tho' it represents Dispositions, and Customs less common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among Men; for if Humour it self be forced, it loses all the Grace, which has been indeed the Fault of some of our Poets most Celebrated in this kind.

It may seem a Defect in the antient Stage, that the Characters introduced were so few, and those so common, as a Covetous Old Man, an Amorous Young, a Witty Wench, a Crafty Slave, a Bragging

ging Soldier: The Spectators met nothing upon the Stage, but what they met in the Streets and at every Turn. All the Variety is drawn only from different and successive Events; whereas if the Characters are so too, the Diversity and the Pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general Customs in a Country, there is usually some Ground, from the Nature of the People or the Clymat, so there may be amongst us, for this Vein of our Stage, and a greater variety of Humour in the Picture, because there is a greater variety in the Life. This may proceed from the Native Plenty of our Soyl, the unequalness of our Clymat, as well as the Mode of our Government, and the Liberty of Professing Opinions and Factions, which perhaps our Neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguish't. Plenty begets Wantonness and Pride, Wantonness is apt to invent, and Pride scorns to Imitate; Liberty begets Stomach or Heart, and Stomach will not be Constrained. Thus we come to have more Originals, and more that appear what they are, we have more Humour because every Man follows his own, and takes a Pleasure, perhaps a Pride to shew it.

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On the contrary, where the People are generally poor, and forced to hard Labour, their Actions and Lives are all of a Piece; where they serve hard Masters, they must follow his Examples as well as Commands, and are forced upon Imitation in small Matters, as well as Obedience in great: So that some Nations look as if they were cast all by one Mould, or Cut out all by one Pattern, (at least the common People in one, and the Gentlemen in another): They seem all of a sort in their Habits, their Customs, and even their Talk and Conversation, as well as in the Application and Pursuit of their Actions and their Lives.

Besides all this, there is another sort of Variety amongst us, which arises from our Clymat, and the Dispositions it Naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another, than any Nation I know, but we are more unlike our selves too, at several times, and owe to our very Air, some ill Qualities as well as many good: We may allow some Distempers Incident to our Clymat, since so much Health, Vigor and Length of Life have been generally Ascribed to it; for among the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors themselves, we shall find the *Britains* observed, to Live the longest, and the *Ægyptians*

gyptians the ſhorteſt, of any Nations that were known in thoſe Ages. Beſides, I think none will Diſpute the Native Courage of our Men, and Beauty of our Women, which may be elſewhere as great in Particulars, but no where ſo in General; they may be (what is ſaid of Diſeaſes) as Acute in other Places, but with us, they are Epidemical. For my own Part, who have Converſed much with Men of other Nations, and ſuch as have been both in great Imploy ments and Eſteem, I can ſay very impartially, that I have not obſerved among any, ſo much true Genius as among the *Engliſh*; No where more Sharpneſs of Wit, more Pleaſantneſs of Humour, more Range of Fancy, more Penetration of Thought or Depth of Reflection among the better Sort: No where more Goodneſs of Nature and of Meaning, nor more Plainneſs of Senſe and of Life than among the common Sort of Country People, nor more blunt Courage and Honeſty, than among our Sea-men.

But with all this, our Country muſt be confeſt, to be what a great Foreign Phyſitian called it, The Region of Spleen, which may ariſe a good deal from the great uncertainty and many ſuddain Changes

Changes of our Weather in all Seasons of the Year: And how much these Affect the Heads and Hearts, especially of the finest Tempers, is hard to be believed by Men, whose Thoughts are not turned to such Speculations. This makes us unequal in our Humours, inconstant in our Passions, uncertain in our Ends, and even in our Desires. Besides, our different Opinions in Religion and the Factions they have Raised or Animated, for Fifty Years past, have had an ill Effect upon our Manners and Customs, inducing more Avarice, Ambition, Disguise (with the usual Consequences of them) than were before in our Constitution. From all this it may happen that there is no where more true Zeal in the many different Forms of Devotion, and yet no where more Knavery under the Shews and Pretences. There are no where so many Disputers upon Religion, so many Reasoners upon Government, so many Refiners in Politicks, so many Curious Inquisitives, so many Pretenders to Business and State-Imployments, greater Porers upon Books, nor Plodders after Wealth. And yet no where more Abandoned Libertines, more Refined Luxurists,

urists, Extravagant Debauches, Conceited Gallants, more Dabblers in Poetry as well as Politicks, in Philosophy and in Chymistry. I have had several Servants far gone in Divinity, others in Poetry; have known in the Families of some Friends, a Keependeep in the *Rosycrucia* Principles, and a Laundress firm in those of *Epicurus*. What Effect soever such a Composition or Medly of Humours among us may have upon our Lives or our Government, it must needs have a good one upon our Stage, and has given admirable Play to our Comical Wits. So that in my Opinion there is no Vein of that sort either Ancient or Modern, which Excels or Equals the Humour of our Plays. And for the rest, I cannot but observe, the Honour of our Country, that the good Qualities amongst us, seem to be Natural, and the ill ones more Accidental, and such as would be easily Changed by the Examples of Princes, and by the Precepts of Laws; such I mean as should be Designed to Form Manners, to Restrain Excesses, to Encourage Industry, to Prevent Mens Expences beyond their Fortunes, to Countenance Virtue, and Raise that True Esteem due to Plain Sense and Common Honesty.

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But to spin off this Thread which is already Grown too long: What Honour and Respect the antient Poetry has had in, may not only be Observed from the Universal Reception and Use in all Nations from *China* to *Peru*, from *Scythia* to *Arabia*, but from the Esteem of the Best and the Greatest Men as well as the Vulgar. Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon* the Wisest Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah* the Holiest Men, were the best Poets of their Nation and Language. Among the *Greeks*, the Two most Renowned Sages and Law-givers were *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whereof the Last is known to have excelled in Poetry, and the First was so great a Lover of it, That to his Care and Industry we are said (by some Authors) to owe the Collection and Preservation of the loose and scattered Pieces of *Homer*, in the Order wherein they have since appeared. *Alexander* is reported neither to have Travelled nor Slept, without those admirable Poems always in his Company. *Phalaris* that was Inexorable to all other Enemies, Relented at the Charms of *Stesichorus* his Muse. Among the *Romans*, the Last and Great *Scipio*, passed the soft Hours of his Life in the

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Converſation of *Terence*, and was thought to have a Part in the compoſition of his Comedies. *Cæſar* was an Excellent Poet as well as Orator, and Compoſed a Poem in his Voyage from *Rome* to *Spain*, Relieving the Tedious Difficulties of his March, with the Entertainments of his Muſe. *Auguſtus* was not only a Patron, but a Friend and Companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himſelf, both an Admirer of Poetry, and a pretender too, as far as his Genius would reach, or his buſy Scene allow. 'Tis true, ſince his Age, we have few ſuch Examples of great Princes favouring or affecting Poetry, and as few perhaps of great Poets deſerving it. Whether it be, that the fierceneſs of the *Gothick* Humors, or Noiſe of their perpetual Wars frighted it away, or that the unequal mixture of the Modern Languages would not bear it; Certain it is, That the great Heighths and Excellency both of Poetry and Muſick, fell with the *Roman* Learning and Empire, and have never ſince recovered the Admiration and Applauſes that before attended them. Yet ſuch as they are amongſt us, they muſt be confeſt to be the ſoftaſt and Sweeteſt, the moſt

General and moſt Innocent Amuſements of common Time and Life. They ſtill find Room in the Courts of Princes, and the Cottages of Shepherds. They ſerve to Revive and Animate the dead Calm of poor or idle Lives, and to Allay or Divert the violent Paſſions and Perturbations of the greateſt and the buſieſt Men. And both theſe Effects are of equal uſe to Humane Life; for the Mind of Man is like the Sea, which is neither agreeable to the Beholder nor the Voyager, in a Calm or in a Storm, but is ſo to both, when a little Agitated by gentle Gales; and ſo the Mind, when moved by ſoft and eaſy Paſſions or Affections. I know very well, that many who pretend to be Wiſe, by the Forms of being Grave, are apt to deſpiſe both Poetry and Muſick, as Toys and trifles too light for the Uſe or Entertainment of ſerious Men. But whoever find themſelves wholly inſenſible to theſe Charms, would I think do well, to keep their own Counſel, for fear of Reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodneſs of their Natures, if not of their Underſtandings, into Queſtion: It may be thought at leaſt an ill Sign, if not an

ill Conſtitution, ſince ſome of the Fathers went ſo far, as to eſteem the Love of Muſick a ſign of Predeſtination, as a thing Divine, and Reſerved for the Felicities of Heaven it ſelf. While this World laſts, I doubt not, but the Pleaſure and Requeſt of theſe Two Entertainments, will do ſo too, and happy thoſe that content themſelves with theſe or any other ſo Eaſy and ſo Innocent, and do not trouble the World or other Men, becauſe they cannot be quiet themſelves, though no body hurts them.

When all is done, Humane Life is at the greateſt and the beſt, but like a froward Child, that muſt be Play'd with, and Humor'd a little, to keep it quiet, till it falls aſleep, and then the Care is over.

FINIS.